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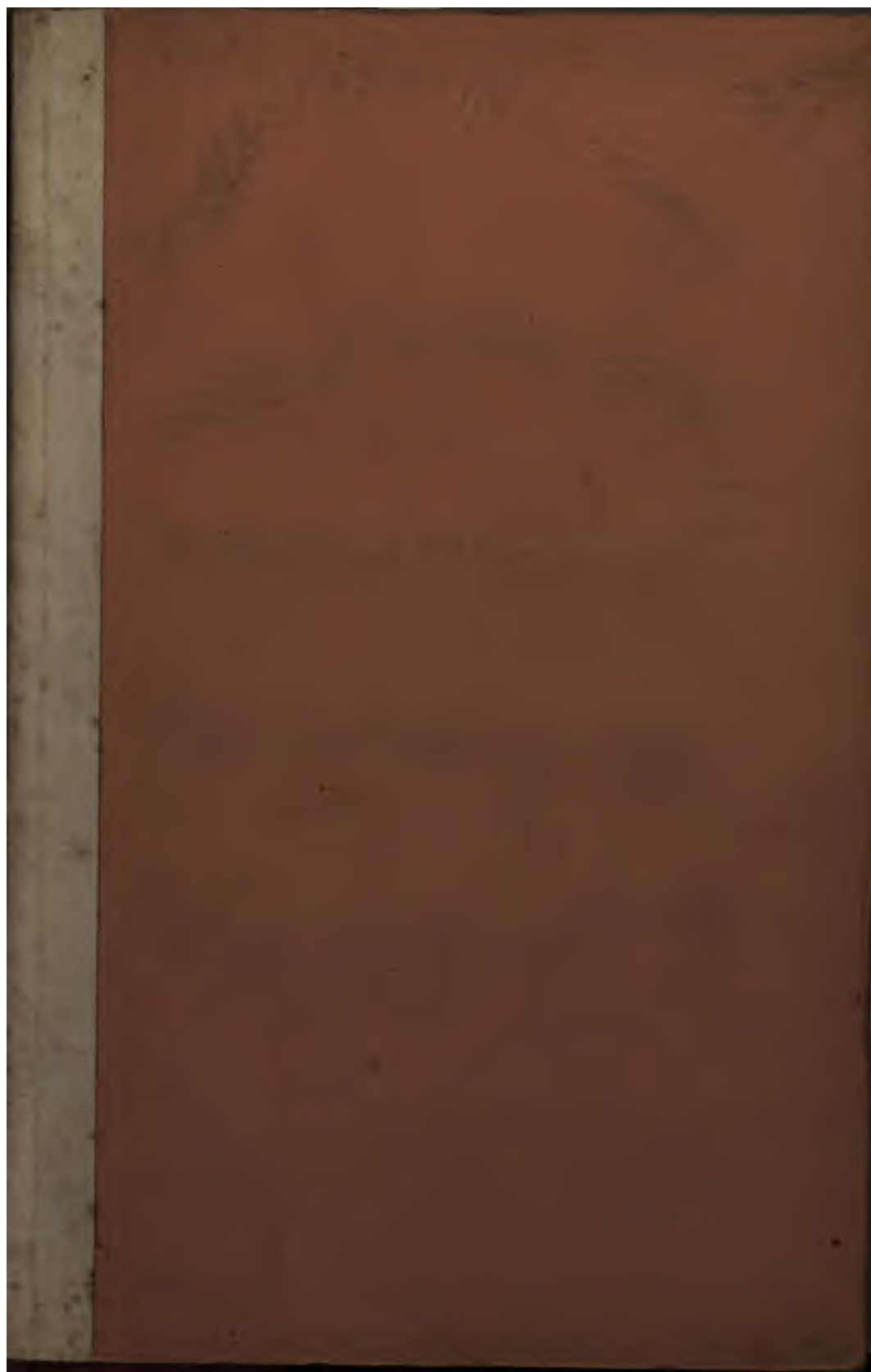
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HORÆ PELASGICÆ

529

PART THE FIRST.

CONTAINING

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE OF

The Pelasgi,

OR

ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF GREECE;

WITH A DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PELASGIC OR ÆOLIC DIGAMMA

AS REPRESENTED IN THE VARIOUS INSCRIPTIONS
IN WHICH IT IS STILL PRESERVED;

AND

AN ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE ITS GENUINE

Pelasgic Pronunciation.

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ERRATA.

- P. 22. lin. 3. after *diversity*, add *of language*.
P. 96. Note 16. Ἄστρος, read Ἄστρως.
P. 114. lin. 10. *quotations*, read *quotation*.
P. 115. Note 28. lin. 5. after *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*,
add *p. 61*.
P. 127. lin. 4. *Pelasgi*, read *Pelasgic*.

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HORÆ PELASGICÆ.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PELASGI.

As the Pelasgi, according to Strabo, were not only ΜΕΓΑ ἔθνος¹, but τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δυναστευσάντων ἈΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΙ², an inquiry into their origin and language cannot fail to excite the interest of the scholar, the philosopher, and the historian. Yet there is hardly an historical question, which has been involved in greater perplexity; and certainly none, on which opinion has been more divided. These same Pelasgi have by turns been represented in the works of modern writers, as Egyptians, Philistines, Phœnicians, Bactrians, Scythians, Goths, and Celts, according as it best suited their respective systems. But though we cannot obtain the certainty of historical *evidence* for the origin of so

(1.) Lib. XIII. p. 621. ed. Casaubon.

(2.) Lib. VII. p. 327.

ancient a people, we may obtain something more solid, than mere conjecture : we may at least derive the benefit of historical *induction*. To give this historical induction the weight of which it is capable, we must collect all the accounts, which can be obtained of the Pelasgi, from the writings of the Greeks themselves ; we must arrange those accounts in such an order, as will best enable us to trace the Pelasgi upwards, as high as our data will carry us ; and then consider what probable conclusion may be drawn.

No Greek writer has taken so much pains to discover the origin and history of the Pelasgi, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus ; though like other Greek writers he represents them as *αυτόχθονες* in that country, beyond which his researches did not carry him. He says, in his *Antiquitates Romanæ* Lib. I. cap. 17, Ἦν τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Ἐχρήσατο δὲ τύχαις δυσπότημοις, εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὴν πολὺπλανόν τε, καὶ οὐδενὸς τόπου βέβαιον οἰκῆσιν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον νῦν Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος ἤκησαν αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ ἑπωνυμίαν ἔλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγοῦ βασιλέως. That the Pelasgi were the first inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and that they were so called from a king of that name, ap-

pears to be the general opinion of the Greek writers. There is indeed a difference of opinion in regard to the *part* of Peloponnesus, which the Pelasgi are supposed to have first occupied: for while some writers, as appears from the passage just quoted, represent *Achaia* as their original country, other writers place them in the adjacent country of *Arcadia*. Hence Plutarch, speaking of the Arcadians, compares them with their native oak: 'Εστὶ τις συγγενεὶα πρὸς τὴν δρῦν πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὡς ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν³. But whatever part of Peloponnesus they *first* occupied, they gradually spread themselves over the whole peninsula, which was thence originally called *Pelasgia*. Strabo (Lib. V. p. 221.) says, τὴν Πελοπόννησον Πελασγίαν φησὶν Ἐφορος κληθῆναι: and Herodotus (Lib. II. cap. 171.) speaking of the daughters of Danaus instructing the Peloponnesian women in the religious rites of Egypt, uses the expression διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγώτιδας γυναῖκας⁴. Hence the

(3.) See his *Quæstiones Romanæ* in Tom. II. p. 286. ed. Xylandri. Pliny also (Hist. Nat. Lib. IV. cap. 6.) says that Arcadia was once called *Pelasgis*. And Pausanias in his description of Arcadia (Lib. VIII. cap. 1.) says in reference to a former writer Πελασγοῦ δὲ βασιλείοντος, γένεσθαι καὶ τῇ χώρῃ Πελασγίαν φησὶν ὄνομα.

(4.) See also Callimachi Hymn. in Pallad. Ver. 4. and Spanheim's

old inhabitants of the northern coast of Peloponnesus, who according to Herodotus, changed afterwards their name to Ionians, from Ion the son of Xuthus, were distinguished by the title of Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιάλεες⁵: the Arcadians, on the other hand, were, according to the same author, distinguished by the title of Πελασγοὶ Ἀρκάδες⁶. Greece likewise *without* the Isthmus appears to have been originally inhabited by these same Pelasgi. The old inhabitants of Attica are called by Herodotus ἔθνος Πελασγικόν⁷: and he distinguishes them by the title of Πελασγοὶ Κραναοί⁸. They were likewise in

Spanheim's Note (Tom. II. p. 607. ed. Ernesti.) where various passages to the same purport are quoted from the Greek tragedians. See also Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* I. 1024. where the Greek Scholiast in reference to Peloponnesus says, τὸ παλαιὸν ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΣ ἑκαλεῖτο.

(5.) Lib. VII. cap. 94.

(6.) Lib. I. cap. 146.

(7.) Lib. I. cap. 57.

(8.) Lib. VIII. cap. 44. Thucydides mentions a temple at Athens (Lib. II. cap. 17.) Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκρόπολιν. Indeed the very walls of the Acropolis appear to have been built by the Pelasgi. Herodotus (Lib. V. cap. 64.) says, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἄμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βυγλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς τυράννους ἀπειρημένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. That this wall surounded the Acropolis appears from what he further says, Lib. VI. c. 137.

Pausanias

possession of Bœotia, Phocis, and Eubœa: for Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lib. I. cap. 18.) speaking of the Pelasgi in the time of Deucalion says, ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς τε Βοιωτίαν, καὶ Φωκίδα, καὶ Εὐβοίαν διεκομίσθησαν. Apollonius Rhodius (Argon. I. 1024.) says,

Μακρίων εἶσαντο Πελασγικὸν ἄρεα κέλσαι.

And his scholiast observes, Μάκρις ἢ Εὐβοία ἐκαλεῖτο. That the Pelasgi established themselves also on the Western side of Greece appears from the oracle of Dodona, which Strabo (Lib. VII. p. 327.) calls Πελασγῶν ἴδρυμα. Herodotus also says, that the Pelasgi were the first who sacrificed and prayed to the Gods, as he himself learnt at Dodona. Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας⁹. Hence Homer (Iliad. Π. 233.) gives the title of *Pelasgic* to Jupiter Dodonæus, Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ. That they established themselves in Epirus appears,

Pausanias in his description of Attica (Lib. I. c. 28.) says, Τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει (πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ἐκοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου) περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγοῦς, οἰκήσαντάς τε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Strabo also (Lib. IX. p. 401.) speaking of Athens, says ἐκλήθη μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως Πελασγικόν: and at p. 221 he appeals to Attic writers in proof of the assertion, that the Pelasgi had settled at Athens: ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι γενομένων τῶν Πελασγῶν. See also Dionys. Hal. Lib. I. cap. 28. (9.) Lib. II. cap. 52.

from what Strabo says, Lib. V. p. 221. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικὰ εἰρήκασι, ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο ἐπαρξάντων. That they had established themselves likewise in Thessaly, appears from the epithet Πελασγικόν, which Homer (Il. B. 681.) has given to Argos in Thessaly. Of this Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος says Strabo (Lib. V. p. 221.) Τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἢ Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ε.βολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τῶν Θερμοπιλῶν, ἕως τῆς ὄρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδον, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΥΣ. Also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, speaking of the Pelasgi settling in Thessaly some ages before the Trojan war, says (Lib. I. cap. 17.) Εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰμοίαν, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν ὀνομαζομένην, μετανέστησαν. ἠγούντο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Ἀχαιοὺς, καὶ Φθίος, καὶ Πελασγῆς, οἱ Λαρίσσης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί. This passage exactly agrees with what Homer says, Il. B. 681.

Νῦν δ' αὖ τοὺς ὅσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,
 Οἳ τ' Ἄλον, οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην, οἳ τε Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο,
 Οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην, ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναυκα,
 Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο, καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ Ἀχαιοί.

The Greek Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius (Argon. I. 14.) referring to this passage says, Πελασγοὶ ἐλέγοντο, οἳ τὴν Φθιωτικὴν κατέκουν. Apollonius himself (Argon. I. 580.) applies to Thessaly the expression πολυλήϊος αἶα Πελασγῶν, and his Scho-

liast then explains Πελασγῶν by Θεσσαλῶν. Stephanus Byzantinus explains Θεσσαλία as being ἡ πρότερον Πελασγία. Herodotus relates, that Phthiotis was occupied by the Pelasgi in the time of Deucalion (ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, Lib. I. c. 56.) In the same chapter he mentions Ossa, Olympus, and Pindus, as occupied by the same people. Strabo also speaks of the Pelasgi in Thessaly. He says (Lib. V. p. 220.) Τοὺς δὲ Πελασγοὺς, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαῖον τι φύλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασε, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κατὰ ΘΕΤΤΑΛΙΑΝ, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἅπαντες σχεδόν τι. Hence in another place (Lib. VII. p. 329.) he has given to Thessaly the epithet Πελασγιώτις.

It appears also from the expression κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν, that the Pelasgi once occupied the *whole* of Greece. Hence, according to Herodotus, Greece in general was originally called Πελασγία, the term Ἑλλάς not being employed as a generic term, till after the Trojan war. In Lib. II. cap. 56. Herodotus uses the expression τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΗΣ καλουμένης: and Lib. VIII. cap. 44. Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλομένην¹⁰. That the terms Ἑλλάς and Ἑλληνες were

(10.) The term Pelasgi is frequently used also by *Latin* writers

in the time of Homer confined to a district of Thessaly appears from the passage above quoted from the Iliad: and that the term Ἑλλάς was not applied to Greece in general till after the Trojan war is asserted by Thucydides, Lib. I. cap. 3.

Πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ τοῦτο ζύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλληνοσ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις αὐτῆ, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε, καὶ τὸ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΚΟΝ ἐπιπλεῖστον, ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχουσαι.

If we go northward from Thessaly to Thrace, we again trace the Pelasgi in that country from the earliest ages¹¹. In the island of Samothrace, at the

writers to denote the Greeks in general, especially when they are speaking of the *early* ages of Greece :

Tempore jam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis
Trojanæ, nomenque tuum, regesque *Pelasgi*. *Æneid.* I. 626.

— Quæm falsa sub prodicione *Pelasgi*. *Ib.* II. 83.

— Ille dolis instructus et arte *Pelæga*. *Ib.* II. 151.

— Vincemus, ait, gaudete *Pelasgi*,
Troja cadet. ——— *Ovid. Met.* XII. 19.

Fama *Pelægiadas* subito pervenit in urbes. *Ovid. Her.* IX. 3.

(11.) If the Pelasgi occupied both Thrace and Thessaly, they must have occupied the intermediate country of Macedonia, which indeed is frequently considered as attached either to the
one

mouth of the Hebrus, they instituted the mysteries of the Cabiri: for Herodotus (Lib. II. cap. 51.) having said, ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, adds in the next line τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήικην οἴκειον πρότερον Πελασγοί. Homer also, when he describes those φῦλα Πελασγῶν, which were among the *Trojan* auxiliaries, represents them as neighbours of the Thracians. For having mentioned the auxiliaries that came from Sestus and Abydus, he *immediately* describes the Pelasgi, II. B. 840.

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγγεσιμῶρων,
 Τῶν οἱ Λάρισσαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάσκον
 Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἴππόθοός τε, Πύλαιός τ' ὄζος Ἄρηος,
 ὕιε δ' ἄνω Λήθιοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.

He then immediately adds,

Αὐτὰρ Θρήικας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας, καὶ Πείρωσ ἦρωσ,
 Ὅσσους Ἑλλάσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἐέργει.

Immediately after the Thracians he describes the

one or to the other. Thus Olympus, which, according to Herodotus (Lib. I. 56.) was occupied by the Pelasgi, is sometimes called a mountain of Thessaly, at other times a mountain of Macedonia. That Macedonia itself was sometimes considered as a part of Thrace, appears from Strabo, Lib. X. p. 471. And that the old Macedonians were really a race of *Pelasgi* is asserted by Justin, Lib. VII. cap. 1.; where, in his description of Macedonia, he says, *Populus Pelasgi, regio Pæonia dicebatur.*

Cicones, who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Rhodope; and then the *Pæonians*, who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Hæmus. Having thus gone to the extremity of the *European* countries, which sent auxiliaries to Troy, he returns at Ver. 851. to the enumeration of their *Asiatic* auxiliaries. Since then Homer proceeds westward in his description from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and *includes* the *φῦλα Πελασγῶν* in this description, we must conclude, that like the *Cicones*, they then inhabited some part of the extensive country called Thrace. And this inference derives additional weight from the circumstance, that the *Pæonians*, who are likewise included in this description, and who are sometimes represented as *Thracians*, were themselves a race of *Pelasgi*, as appears from the preceding Note. There was indeed a town called *Larissa* to the *East* of the Hellespont near Troy. But the *Larissa*, from which these *Pelasgi* came, was far distant from Troy: for when their leader *Hippothous* was killed by *Ajax*, Homer says (Il. P. 301.) that he fell

Τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσσης ἐριβώλακος.

and the reasons already assigned prevent us from seeking with *Strabo* (Lib. XIII. p. 621.) for this *Pelagic Larissa* at any distance to the *south* of

Troy. Heyne therefore, in his Note to the passage in question, says, *Suspicari licet inter Thracas Europæ condesisse turmas Pelasgorum*¹². It is true, that the Greek geographers have not mentioned any Larissa in Thrace: but such a town may have existed there at the time of the Trojan war, and yet have either been destroyed or have changed its name in the course of a thousand years. The name of Larissa is celebrated in Pelasgic mythology: for as the elder Pelasgus is called the son of Jupiter and Niobe¹³, so the second Pelasgus, with his brothers Phthius and Achæus, who led the Pelasgi into Thessaly, are called the sons of Neptune and *Larissa*¹⁴. At any rate we know from Herodotus, that the island of Samothrace, at the mouth of the Hebrus, was occupied at a very early age by the Pelasgi. Two other islands adjacent to Thrace, namely Lemnus and Imbrus, must also have been occupied at a very early age by the Pelasgi. For Herodotus (Lib. V. c. 26.) speaking of the invasion of those islands by Darius, observes,

(12.) Tom. IV. p. 417. of his edition of Homer.

(13.) Ἦν δὲ ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐκ Διὸς, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῆς Νιόβης τοῦ Φορωνέως, ἢ πρώτῃ γυναικὶ θνητῇ μίσγεται ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔχει. Dion. Hal. Lib. I. c. 17.

(14.) Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ Φθίος, καὶ Πελασγὸς, οἱ Λαρίσσης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί. Ib. ib.

that both of them were *still* occupied by the Pelasgi (ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκομέναις.) Hence we may safely infer, that the Pelasgi had possessions on the continent of Thrace itself. We shall find likewise in the sequel, that when Herodotus proposes to ascertain the language, which was originally spoken by the Pelasgi, he particularly mentions τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ.

By means of the data, collected in this Chapter, we may trace the Pelasgi throughout the whole of Greece, and onward through Thrace to the Hellespont. The Greek writers, as we have seen, represent either Achaia, or Arcadia, as the *original* seat of the Pelasgi: whence they are supposed to have migrated to Thessaly¹⁵, and from Thessaly to Thrace¹⁶. The question *how* the Pelasgi came to

(15.) When Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lib. I. cap. 17.) describes the settlement of the Pelasgi in Thessaly, under Pelasgus, Pthius, and Achæus, he represents them as coming from Peloponnesus.

(16.) Perhaps the reason why Arcadia in particular was supposed to have been the original seat of the Pelasgi, was that the Arcadians retained their antient customs longer than any other people of Greece. Herodotus (Lib. II. cap. 171.) speaking of a religious ceremony adopted in Peloponnesus by the Pelasgian women

be the first inhabitants of Peloponnesus was easily resolved by making them *ἀντόχθονες*. But as we know, that Europe was peopled from Asia, either the first settlers in Peloponnesus traversed the Egean sea, in which case Greece might have been peopled from south to north: or the first migration from Asia Minor to Europe was across either the Hellespont or the Thracian Bosphorus, in which case Greece was peopled from north to south. Now it is infinitely more probable, that the first settlers in Thrace should have crossed the Hellespont, where the land on one side is visible from the land on the other, and that Greece should have been peopled from Thrace, than that the first settlers in Greece should have come immediately across the Egean sea, and have consequently embarked in Asia, without knowing that an opposite coast was *in existence*¹⁷. We may therefore fairly presume that Thrace was the first *European*

women (Πελασγιώτιδες γυναῖκες) adds, Μετὰ δὲ ἐξαστάσῃ πάσῃ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἐξαπέλετο ἡ τελετή. οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαστάντες Ἀρκάδες δίσσωζον αὐτὴν μῦνοι.

(17.) It is true, that the Egean islands formed so many breaks in the passage by sea: and Crete is supposed to have been a kind of stepping stone to the Pelasgi in their passage from Asia to Peloponnesus, because Homer (Odyss. xix. 177.) mentions

Pelasgi

settlement of the Pelasgi, and that they gradually spread themselves southward till they had occupied the whole of Greece¹⁸. Indeed Thrace was the original seat of Grecian song, and Grecian fable. Thamyris who is said to have challenged the Muses, was a Thracian¹⁹. So was Orpheus; so was

Pelasgi among the inhabitants of Crete. But with the Pelasgi he mentions, *Achæans*, and *Dorians*, who certainly came from *Greece*, not from Asia into Crete. It is most probable therefore, that the Pelasgi did the same. Indeed this is positively asserted both by Diodorus Siculus, Lib. IV. c. 60. and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lib. I. cap. 18. The latter speaking of the *Thessalian* Pelasgi in the time of Deucalion, which was long before the Trojan war, says, Οἱ μὲν εἰς ΚΡΗΤΗΝ ἀπήλθον, οἱ δὲ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τιμὰς κατέσχον. It was likewise at this migration from *Thessaly*, as Dionysius adds in the same chapter, that the Pelasgi settled in *Lesbos*. Strabo also (Lib. V. p. 221.) says, τὴν Λέσβον Πελασγίαν εἰρήκασι. That Pelasgi from *Thessaly* settled also in *Chios* appears from Strabo, Lib. XIII. p. 620. Χῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὰς ἐαυτῶν Πελασγοὺς φασὶ τοὺς ἐκ ΘΕΤΤΑΛΙΑΣ. From *Thessaly* likewise the Pelasgi in all probability sent a colony to *Delos*: for Dionysius says that they occupied several of the Cyclades, and *Delos* lay in their passage from *Thessaly* to *Crete*.

(18.) It is curious, that the *Arcadians*, who have been represented as the *original* Pelasgi, were, according to Homer so little acquainted with sea affairs, that he says of them, Il. B. 614. ἐπεὶ οὐ σφι θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.

(19.) ————— Ἔνθα τε Μουσαι

Ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρηϊκά παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς. Il. B. 594.

Musæus²⁰. And the mysteries of the Cabiri were celebrated in Samothrace, before the temple of Delphi existed²¹.

We have therefore sufficient data to warrant the inference, that the country, where the Pelasgi first established themselves in *Europe*, was Thrace. And if we cannot obtain any historical data, which enable us to trace them further, we must consider *Thrace* as the country, which, as far as *our* knowledge extends, was the *original* seat of the Pelasgi. That *some* of the φῦλα Πελασγῶν entered Europe by the Hellespont, we may infer from their subsequent intercourse with the Trojans: though other tribes of them may have entered, and probably *did* enter by the Thracian Bosphorus. Nor is it improbable that other φῦλα Πελασγῶν, or a portion of this μέγα ἔθνος, as Strabo calls them, traversed the northern shores of the Euxine, and entered Thrace across the Danube. For Thrace was a country of very great extent. Δίκηει ἡ Θράκη ἀπὸ Στρυμῶνος

(20.) Οἱ τ' ἐπιμεληθέντες τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς ΘΡΑΚΕΣ λέγονται, Ὀρφεὺς τε, καὶ Μουσαῖος, καὶ Θάμυρις. Strabo, Lib. X. p. 471.

(21.) Homer (Il. K. 429. Od. T. 177.) uses the expression δῖοι Πελασγοί, in reference probably to their religious worship, as he applies also the same epithet to Elis, Il. B. 615.

ποταμοῦ μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, says Scylax in his *Periplus*²². And Herodotus (Lib. V. cap. 2.) says, Θρηίκων ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετὰ γέ Ἰνδοῦς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων. That the Thracians bordered on the Scythians is again asserted by Scylax²³. Μετὰ δὲ Θράκην εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἔθνος. And that the Scythians were even a race of Thracians is asserted by Stephanus Byzantinus. Σκύθαι ἔθνος Θράκιον²⁴. Such was Thrace the primary seat of the Pelasgi in Europe. From that country we may trace their migrations into other countries: but their history *previous* to their settlement in Thrace is to us inscrutable.

On the other hand, though we cannot trace, by the aid of *history*, the Pelasgi beyond their original *European* settlement, attempts have been made to trace them further by the aid of *etymology*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and indeed most Greek writers, derive the name of Pelasgus from a king of that name; though it appears to have been a witticism among the Athenians, that they were πελασγοὶ

(22.) Geog. vet. Script. Min. ed. Hudson, Tom. I. p. 27.

(23.) *Ib.* p. 29.

(24.) De Urbibus, p. 674. ed. Berkel. Strabo also speaking of the Getæ (περὶ τῶν Γετῶν, Lib. VII. p. 302.) adds, ὁμογλώττου τοῖς Θραξίν ἔθνοισι.

quasi πελαργοί²⁵. Some modern writers have derived their name from πέλαγος, on the supposition, that the Pelasgi came from Asia across the Egean sea: a supposition highly improbable in itself, and which, even if true, would carry us no further in our history of the Pelasgi, than we were before. Others derive it from πέλας or πελαστής, which again throws no light on their ancient history. But an etymology proposed by Salmasius (de Hellenisticâ, p. 342.) appears at least to carry us to the fountain head. He says, Pelasgorum τὸ πολυπλάνητον appellatio *Phaleg* ostendit, quæ divisionem sonat: Pelasgos autem per totam fere Græciam dispersos fuisse Græcorum monumenta testantur. He then quotes the following passage from Epiphanius de Scythismo. Φαλέκ καὶ Ῥαγαῦ, οἵτινες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης κλίμα νενευκότες, τῷ τῆς Σκυθίας μέρει καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθνεσι προσεκρίθησαν. And he adds, “Pelasgos quoque in Thraciâ vixisse, Græci auctores testantur, et Graios quoque inde venisse. Hæc sunt quæ tuto possumus derivare in his quæ ad Græcorum originem et appellationem pertinent.” Now the testimony of so late a writer as Epiphanius to the travels of Peleg and his son

(25.) Διὰ δὲ τὸ πλανήτας εἶναι, καὶ δίκην ὀρνέων ἐπιφοιτῶν ἐφ' οὓς ἔτυχε τόπους, πελαργούς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν κληθῆναι. Strabo, Lib. V. p. 221.

Reu into Europe, when the book of Genesis affords no reason to suppose that they ever quitted Asia, cannot be of any value. It appears from Gen. xi. 18—26. that Reu the son of Peleg, was the grandfather of Nahor, who was the grandfather of *Abraham*. It is true, that Peleg had other sons beside Reu, and also that Reu had other sons beside Serug, the father of Nahor. But of these *other* sons of Peleg and of Reu, Moses has mentioned neither the history, nor even their names. We can go therefore no further, than to say, it is *possible*, that descendants from Peleg and Reu, calling themselves after the names of their two great ancestors (as the Hebrews in *another* line called themselves from the father of Peleg) migrated westward, till at length, after a succession of ages, they found themselves settled in Thrace. But can this possibility be raised to a *probability*? That the word פֶּלֶג in Hebrew signifies *divisit*, will not attach it to the Pelasgi in particular: for in the early ages of the world migration was common to *all* nations. And even if it be *true*, that Peleg was the common ancestor of all the Pelasgi, we obtain from the discovery no more knowledge of their history antecedent to their settlement in Thrace, than by saying, that they were descended from Peleg's ancestor *Noah*, or from Noah's ancestor *Adam*.

After all then, we must be contented with tracing the Pelasgi up to their *European* settlement in Thrace. *Beyond* that limit their history is all conjecture. We may infer indeed from the known progress of migration, that among the ancestors of the *Thracian* Pelasgi some must have been once established in *Asia Minor*; and Menecrates Elaita in his work *περὶ κρίσεων*, asserted that they actually *were* so²⁶. We may further conclude, that *their* ancestors were once established still *more* to the eastward. But Thrace will still remain the limit of the *actual knowledge*, which we possess, on the origin of the Pelasgi. And it is useful to *know* the limit; for hence we know, when we are arguing about the Pelasgi, whether we are building on a rock, or building on the sand.

(26.) Strabo Lib. XIII. p. 621.

CHAP. II.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE PELASGI.

THE question, what *language* was spoken by the Pelasgi, we find proposed even by Herodotus, who confesses himself unable to give a decisive answer. He says (Lib. I. c. 57.) Ἦν τινα γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. But we shall conclude, he adds, that they spake some barbarous language (βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν) if we may argue from the remnant of the Pelasgi, who occupy the town of Creston, beyond the Tyrrhenians (εἰ χρεῶν ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνη πόλιν οἰκεόντων.) Now the Crestonians were a race of *Thracians*, as appears from what Herodotus himself says, Lib. V. cap. 3. where he gives a description of Thrace, and mentions the Κρηστωναῖοι as a part of the ἔθνος Θρηίκων. He further appeals to two other Pelasgic towns on the Hellespont, τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. He adds, that the inhabitants of Creston spake the same language with the inhabitants of Placia,

but that the inhabitants of both towns differed in language from their immediate neighbours.

Now that Herodotus had recourse to Thrace for the purpose of ascertaining the language of the Pelasgi, is perfectly consistent with the fact, that Thrace was their first European establishment. But in the time of Herodotus, Thrace was full of colonies from the south of Greece. If therefore the people of Creston, for instance, spake a different language from their neighbours, Herodotus inferred that their language was a remnant of the Pelasgic. But as Thrace was the grand thoroughfare in the migrations from Asia to Europe, it is the last country, where one might expect that the language of the Pelasgi would remain unaltered. We know likewise from the authority of Strabo, that people of various nations gradually mixed themselves with the Thracians. He says Lib. VII. p. 295. Οἱ Ἕλληνες ΓΕΤΑΣ Θράκας ὑπελάμβανον: at p. 304. he speaks of τοὺς ΚΕΛΤΟΥΣ τοὺς ἀναμειγμένους τοῖς Θραξί. Again, at 305, he says of the Getæ, τοῖς Θραξί καὶ τοῖς Μυσοῖς ἀναμείχθαι. In the same page, speaking of the Scythians, the Sauromatæ, and the Bastarnæ, he says, καταμείνειν τινὰς αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις, ἢ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ. The Scythians and the Getæ, who according to Salmasius (De Hellenist. p. 368.) belonged to the same race, may have *originally* spoken the same language with

the Thracians: but length of time and diversity of country must have gradually occasioned a considerable diversity. And the Celts, as is well known, spake a language, which was *radically* different. The language therefore of the Crestonians, however it might differ from that of the surrounding Greek colonies, was hardly a fair specimen of genuine Pelasgic. Indeed Thucydides, who was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Thrace, makes a *distinction* between the ἔθνος Πελασγικόν, and the ἔθνος Κρηστωνικόν.

In describing some cities of Acte, a district contiguous to Amphipolis, Lib. IV. cap. 109. he says, Οἰκοῦνται ζυμίκτοις ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων. καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχὺ· τὸ δὲ πλείστον ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΚΟΝ, τῶν καὶ Λημνὸν ποτε καὶ Αθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικόν, καὶ ΚΡΗΣΤΩΝΙΚΟΝ. The language therefore, which was spoken by the Crestonians cannot possibly be considered as a specimen of genuine Pelasgic: and the argument which Herodotus employs to prove that the Pelasgi did not speak the Greek language, falls therefore to the ground. It is true, that Thucydides in the very passage just quoted has reckoned the Pelasgi among the ἔθνη βάρβαρα. But he has not, like Herodotus, made use of any *argument* for his opinion: and, if we examine the matter a little more closely, we shall find reason to believe, that the Pelasgi spake

the same *language* with Thucydides himself, though the *form* of it, as used by the Pelasgi, might bear to the form of it in the writings of Thucydides a relation similar to that, which the English of Chaucer bears to the English of Pope.

We have already seen that the Pelasgi once occupied the *whole* of Greece, and that the general name of the country was formerly Πελασγία. This is asserted by Herodotus himself, Lib. II. cap. 56. To distinguish therefore the *ancient* inhabitants of Greece from the Greeks of his *own* time he calls the former Ἔθνος Πελασγικόν, the latter Ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν¹. From the time of Herodotus these terms were commonly applied to distinguish the former inhabitants of Greece from those, with whose writings we are now acquainted. Now an opposition in *names* is almost always followed by a supposed opposition in the *things*. The terms Ἔθνος Πελασγικόν and Ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν were nothing more than *different names* applied to the *same nation*. It applied however to that nation, as it existed at *different periods*, which more easily led to the supposition of two distinct people with two different languages. And, as every language, which differed from the language of the later

(1.) Lib. I. cap. 56.

Greeks, was considered as a *Γλῶσσα βάρβαρος*, this term was applied to the language of the Pelasgi. But, if we consider the circumstances, which attended the alteration of the term *Ἔθνος Πελασγικόν* to the term *Ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν*, we shall find, that it could not have been accompanied with the substitution of one *language* for another. To effect a revolution of this kind in any country two causes must operate, and operate at the same time; neither of which appear to have operated in the present case. The inhabitants of Greece acquired the name of *Ἕλληνες* in consequence of the descendants of Hellen becoming the governing people. Thucydides (Lib. I. cap. 3.) immediately after the passage already quoted from that Chapter, where he says that the term *Ἕλληνες* was not a general term till after the Trojan war, immediately adds *Ἕλληνας δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυρὰντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μάλλον ΚΑΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ ἙΛΛΗΝΑΣ*. Here the expression *Ἕλληνας καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ* can apply only to the latter: for Hellen himself lived long *before* the Trojan war. The superiority gained by the *Ἕλληνες*, which led to the general adoption of their name, must have been subsequent to the Trojan war. For Homer describes them as then confined to a district of Thessaly, as Thucydides himself

adds in the same place (τεκμηριῶ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος.) Likewise the Greek Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius (Argon. I. 904.) says, Ὅμηρος μίαν Θετταλίας πόλιν οἶδε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Even independently of Homer's testimony, it is incredible that the *cause* should have operated so long *before* the Trojan war, if, as Thucydides himself declares, the *effect* was not produced till *after* the Trojan war. But whatever was the period, when the descendants of Hellen obtained the superiority, which led to the general adoption of their name, there is no reason to suppose, that they spake a *different language* from that which was used in the other parts of Greece, to which they extended their dominion. At *that* time Greece in general was called Πελασγία : and the very country, from which the Ἕλληνες came, was distinguished in particular by the epithet Πελασγικός. The substitution therefore of one *term* for another could not have been accompanied with the substitution of one *language* for another. And even if the family of Hellen *had* spoken a different language from that of the Pelasgi, the language of that family could not have superseded the language *previously* spoken in Greece, unless they exterminated as well as conquered, which no Greek historian has ever asserted.

Nor must we forget the absurdity, to which on another account we shall be reduced by arguing from *names* to *things*, in reference to Ἑλληνικός, applied as a distinction of language. In the time of Homer the term γλῶσσα Ἑλληνική could be applied only to the language spoken in *Thessaly*: for none but the Thesalians were then called Ἕλληνες. If then the term γλῶσσα βάρβαρος be applied wherever the term γλῶσσα Ἑλληνική does *not* apply, which was the mode of reasoning, not only of Herodotus and Thucydides, but of the Greek writers in general, the term γλῶσσα βάρβαρος applied in the time of Homer to the very language in which Homer himself wrote. Nay the whole of the Greek army, which appeared before the walls of Troy consisted of barbarians, with the exception of the troops, which were led by Achilles. Thucydides himself was aware of this inference. He acknowledges (Lib. I. cap. 3.) that Homer called no other persons Ἕλληνες, than they who came with Achilles from Phthiotis, who were the *original* Ἕλληνες. He says οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ζύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ Ἕλληνες ἦσαν. Then perceiving, that according to the usual mode of reasoning the term βάρβαροι would apply to the rest of Agamemnon's army, he adds, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΥΣ εἶρακε, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ἙΛΛΗΝΑΣ πω, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον

εις ἘΝ ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. Thucydides therefore considered the term βάρβαρος, as not *then* applicable to those who were not Ἕλληνες, because the Greeks were not then denominated by this *one* name. But if they were not denominated by *this* one name, they were denominated by *another* single name: for Herodotus says, that before the country was called Ἑλλάς, it was called Πελασγία. If therefore the union of the Greeks under *one* name was a reason for that name being used as the *opposite* (ἀντίπαλον) of the term βάρβαρος, we may conclude from the same mode of reasoning that the term γλῶσσα Πελασγική is no less in *opposition* to the term γλῶσσα βάρβαρος, than the term γλῶσσα Ἑλληνική itself. Consequently we must infer that they are only different names of the same thing.

Indeed, Herodotus himself, though he opposes the language of the Hellenes to the language of the Pelasgi, has afforded us the means of proving, that γλῶσσα Πελασγική, and γλῶσσα Ἑλληνική, are only *different terms* for the *same language*. In the very chapter (Lib. I. cap. 56.), where he draws the line between the ἔθνος Πελασγικόν, and the ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν, he makes *another* division of the Greeks, and likewise in reference to their *language*. This division is the Γένος Δωρικόν, and

the *Γένος Ἴωνικόν*. The *Γένος Δωρικόν*, he adds, belonged to the *Ἔθνος Πελασγικόν*: and moreover he adds at the end of the chapter, that this very term ΔΩΡΙΚΟΝ, was given to the *ἔθνος Πελασγικόν* when it settled in Peloponnesus, (*ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη*.) Is not this an admission, that the Pelasgi spake the Doric dialect, and consequently a dialect of that very language, which was used by Herodotus himself? Further, says Herodotus in the same chapter, that as the Pelasgic nation included the Dorian genus, so the Dorian genus included the Lacedæmonians. But who has ever doubted whether the Lacedæmonians spake Greek?

In regard to the Athenians, whom he likewise mentions in the same chapter, Herodotus himself is reduced to a difficulty, from which he endeavours to extricate himself by the most improbable supposition, that ever was made. As he refers the Lacedæmonians to the *Dorian* genus, so he refers the Athenians to the *Ionian* genus; the former included in the *Pelasgic* nation, the latter in the *Hellenic* nation. But, in the next chapter (Lib. I. cap. 57.) he examines (as we have already seen) the question, whether the language of the *Πελασγοὶ* was the same with the language of the *Ἕλληνες*. And having decided in the negative, he immedi-

ately feels the difficulty attending his classification in the former chapter. For if the Athenians belonged to the ἔθνος Πελασγικόν (as he admits in c. 57.) and the ἔθνος Πελασγικόν spake a different language from the ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν, a language moreover which Herodotus calls γλῶσσα βάρβαρος, this same γλῶσσα βάρβαρος must have been spoken by the Athenians themselves. But, in c. 56. he had referred the Athenians to the ἔθνος ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ. And, if the *Hellenes* spake a different language from the *Pelasgi*, how was it possible to rank the Athenians, as well among the former, as among the latter? To this question Herodotus answers, Τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ὂν ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΚΟΝ, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ εἰς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ μετέμαθε. Now a whole nation, all at once forgetting its former language and learning a new one, is a phenomenon of which history affords no example. The μεταβολὴ εἰς Ἑλλήνας as Herodotus calls it, was a change only in *name*. It was nothing more than μεταβολὴ εἰς ὄνομα Ἑλληνικόν: for a change of *inhabitants* at Athens, in consequence of any conquest by the *Hellenes*, which alone could have produced such a change in the *language* there, is a thing of which we have never heard. But Herodotus himself has elsewhere informed us, that the Athenians frequently changed their *name*. He says (Lib. VIII. c. 44.) Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασ-

γῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην, ἔσαν
 Πελασγοί, οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος
 βασιλῆος, ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι· ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ
 Ἐρεχθῆος τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν· Ἴωνος
 δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναῖοισι,
 ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου ἼΩΝΕΣ. Consistently with
 this last term Herodotus (Lib. I. c. 56.) had re-
 ferred the Athenians to the γένος ἼΩΝΙΚΟΝ, as he
 referred the Lacedæmonians to the γένος ΔΩΡΙΚΟΝ.
 And as he did not think it necessary to suppose,
 that the Lacedæmonians had changed their lan-
 guage, because they belonged to the ἔθνος Πελασ-
 γικόν, the circumstance that the Athenians belonged
likewise to the ἔθνος Πελασγικόν afforded no reason
 to suppose a change of language on *their* part. In
 short the whole confusion on this subject was occa-
 sioned by making a distinction between *two names*,
 which belonged to the *same thing*, and then
 arguing, as frequently happens, from a *nominal* to
 a *real* distinction. It must be observed, however,
 in justice to Herodotus, that he himself has spoken
 with some hesitation in regard to his own conclu-
 sion. After his appeal to the Crestonians, in proof
 of the position, that the γλῶσσα Πελασγικὴ was
 different from the γλῶσσα Ἑλληνικὴ, he prefaces
 his conclusion about the change of language by the
 Athenians with the words, εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ΠΑΝ
 τοιοῦτον τὸ Πελασγικόν. Now it has been already

shewn that the whole Pelasgic nation could *not* have been such, as the Crestonians were in the time of Herodotus. The condition therefore fails, without which, as Herodotus himself admits, his conclusion cannot be valid.

Indeed Herodotus, however adverse he may appear on *one* occasion, has elsewhere afforded abundant proof, that the language of the Pelasgi could have been no other than Greek. That he represents them as speaking the same language with the Lacedæmonians has been already shewn. He represents likewise the Arcadians as Pelasgi, for he calls them (Lib. I. cap. 146.) Πελασγοὶ Ἀρκάδες; and no one ever doubted whether the Arcadians spake Greek. Again, when the Ionians occupied the north of Peloponnesus, along the Corinthian bay to the Ionian sea (at which time they gave to that sea its present name), they were distinguished, as Herodotus says, Lib. VII. cap. 94. by the title of Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλῆες, or Pelasgi of the *sea-coast*, in contradistinction to the Pelasgi of Arcadia, which was wholly an *inland* country. But who again ever supposed that the Ionians, even the *old* Ionians, before they settled in Asia Minor, spake any language but Greek. Since then Herodotus reduces the language of Greece to two principal dialects, the *Doric* and the *Ionic*; since

he himself refers the Δωρικὸν γένος to the Ἔθνος Πελασγικόν; and the Ἴωνικὸν γένος must be classed under the same head, according to what he admits elsewhere, it necessarily follows, that the terms γλῶσσα Πελασγική and Γλῶσσα Ἑλληνική are only different names of the same thing. And this inference is confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who (Lib. I. c. 17.) expressly calls the Pelasgi γένος ἙΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ. If further proof were wanted, we might appeal again to Herodotus himself, in the place where he afterwards describes the *religion* of the Pelasgi. He says (Lib. II. cap. 52.) that the Pelasgi worshipped and sacrificed to the gods, but without knowing their *names*, which they long afterwards learnt when those names were brought from Egypt. Χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν Θεῶν. But he says they invoked the gods by the general name of ΘΕΟΙ. His own words are ΘΕΟΥΣ δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ ΘΕΝΤΕΣ τὰ πάντα πρήγματα. Now, if the Pelasgi not only called the gods ΘΕΟΙ, but so called them from ΘΕΩ the root of τίθημι, because the gods *founded* all things, what better evidence can we have, that the Pelasgi spake Greek?

It was indeed too common with the Greek

writers to call their ancestors *barbarians*, as if they had belonged to a totally different race. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the Cratylus of Plato, which serves at the same time to shew, that the reproach was without foundation. After an examination of many other words, says Hermogenes to Socrates, But what do you think of the words ΠΥΡ and ΥΔΩΡ? To which Socrates replies (Tom. I. p. 409. ed. Serrani) Ἐννοῶ ὅτι πολλὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὀνόματα, ἄλλως τε ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντες, παρὰ τῶν ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ εἰλήφασι. And he adds, Εἴ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἙΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ φῶνὴν ὡς ἐοικότως κείται, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ὄν, οἶσθα ὅτι ἀποροῖ ἄν. Here the term *βάρβαροι* is applied to the *ancient* inhabitants of Greece, as if they had spoken a different language from that which was used by Socrates and Plato. The same assertion is repeated at p. 425. παρὰ βαρβάρων τινῶν αὐτὰ παρελήφασιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι βάρβαροι. But if the same terms were common both to the ancient and to the modern inhabitants of Greece, we cannot infer, that the language of the one was *different* from the language of the other, though the language of the one was *more polished*, than that of the other. In fact when Socrates is made to say, that the terms ΠΥΡ and ΥΔΩΡ were not of *Hellenic* but of *barbaric* origin, nothing more could be meant, than that those

words, as being primitives in the Greek language, were capable of no further *resolution* in that language. Nothing therefore was left, in regard to the derivation of these words, than to do as we *always* do in deriving the primitives of any language; namely, to inquire in what other language or languages these words had been *previously* used. On the supposition therefore, that the ancient inhabitants of Greece spake a barbarous language, it appeared, that sufficient provision had been made for the etymology of ΠΥΡ and ΥΔΩΡ. But in fact it was the same sort of etymology as it would be, if we derived a word in Klopstock or Wieland from a word used by Kero or Ottfried; and it amounts to nothing more than that ΠΥΡ and ΥΔΩΡ were used in Greece above a thousand years before Socrates was born. But, says Socrates further, (p. 410.) Ὅρα τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ΠΥΡ μήτι βαρβαρικὸν ἢ τοῦτο γὰρ οὔδε ῥάδιον προσάψαι ἐστὶν ἙΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ. φωνῇ φανεροί τ' εἰσὶν οὕτως αὐτὸ καλοῦντες ΦΡΥΓΕΣ, σμικρόν τι παρακλίνοντες. Now all this is perfectly consistent with the opinion, that the Pelasgi spake Greek. The language of the Pelasgi was planted in a common soil with many other languages, and of course had numerous words in *common* with other languages. And its agreement with the Phrygian in particular cannot appear extraordinary, when we consider what

Herodotus says, Lib. VII. cap. 73. Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνα ὅσον Εὐρωπήϊοι εὐόντες σύνουκοι ἔσαν Μακεδόσι². Now if the Phrygians were originally neighbours of the Macedonians, and used the Macedonic dialect, in substituting B for Φ³, it is no wonder that Greek words should be found among the Phrygians. Indeed the two words, which Plato selected are common to a great variety of languages. The Hebrew **אֵשׁ**, that is ūr, signifies fire. The same word (probably not *derived* from the Hebrew, but drawn from a *common source*) was used by the Pelasgi, and pronounced after their peculiar mode **Fυρ**, which the Macedonians (probably also the Phrygians, of whom Plato says *σικκρόν τι παρακλί- νοντες*) pronounced **Βυρ**, and the other Greeks **Πυρ**. The word *ἕδωρ*, pronounced by the Pelasgi **Fυδωρ**, is

(2.) These neighbours of the Macedonians were Thracians. Οἱ Φρύγες Θρακῶν ἀποικοὶ εἰσὶ. Strabo, Lib. X. p. 471. Indeed the term Thrace, in its most extensive sense included Macedonia. Περὶ γὰρ, καὶ Ὀλυμπος, καὶ Πίμπλα, καὶ Λεῖβηθρον τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ΘΡΑΚΙΑ χωρία καὶ ὄρη· νῦν δὲ ἔχουσι ΜΑΚΕΔΟ- ΝΕΣ. Ib.

(3.) Plutarch, in his *Quæstiones Græcæ*, Tom. II. p. 292. ed. Xylander, speaking of the different substitutions made by the Delphians and the Macedonians, says, Οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Φ τῷ Β χρωῦνται Δελφοὶ (καθάπερ Μακεδόνες Βίλιππον καὶ Βαλακρόν καὶ Βερενίκην λέγοντες) ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ Π. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πατεῖν Βαθεῖν, καὶ τὸ Πικρόν Βικρόν ἐπιεικῶς καλοῦσι.

connected with the Saxon word *Water*, as their *Fup* is connected with the Saxon *Fyr*⁴. In short, the two words selected by Plato as words of *barbaric* origin, were only words which both ancient and modern Greeks had *in common* with many other nations, who drew from the same source.

But there is no argument, which so clearly evinces the language of the Pelasgi, as that which is derived from the *Latin* language. Quintilian (Lib. I. c. 6. p. 39. ed. Gesner) speaking of the Æolic dialect, says, *cui est sermo noster simillimus* : and that the similarity between the languages and letters of Greece and Rome was owing to the intervention of the *Pelasgi*, is unanimously asserted both by Latin and by Greek writers, who have treated of Roman antiquities. Livy, speaking of Evander, who led a colony of Pelasgi from Arcadia into Latium, calls him (Lib. I. cap. 7.) *venerabilis vir miraculo literarum, rei novæ inter rudes artium homines*. Also Tacitus (Annal. XI. 14.) says, *Aborigines Arcade ab Evandro didicerunt : et formæ literis Latinis, quæ veterimis Græcorum*. Pliny (Hist.

(4.) It would be foreign to our present inquiry to pursue *this* subject any further : but whoever is disposed to it will find much information in the *Proæmium to Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum Upsaliæ* 1769. 2 Tom. fol. See also Salmasius de Hellenistica, p. 66. 380.

Nat. VII. 56.) speaking of Letters, says, *In Latium eas attulerunt Pelasgi*: and Solinus (Cap. VIII. p. 53. ed. Basil.) says in like manner of the Pelasgi, *primi in Latium literas intulerunt*. But there is no writer who has given so circumstantial an account of the migrations of the Pelasgi into Italy, and of the dialect, which they there introduced, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the first book of his *Antiquitates Romanæ*. The first migration he represents as having taken place ἐπτακαίδεκα γενεαῖς πρότερον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων. Lib. I. c. 11. The account of *this* migration is attended indeed with circumstances so manifestly fabulous, as to destroy the credit of the whole narrative: and Dionysius himself, who professes only to give it on the authority of Porcius Cato and Caius Sempronius, prefaces the account with Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ τούτων λόγος ὑγιής, which shews, that he attached no credit to it. But no exception can be taken to his account of the *second* migration, which was from Thessaly, the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος of Homer, and the principal seat of the Pelasgi according to Strabo, Lib. V. p. 220, 221. This migration, according to Dionysius, Lib. I. c. 17. took place in the time of Deucalion: and that the Pelasgi were settled in Thessaly in the time of Deucalion, is asserted by Herodotus, Lib. I. c. 56. Indeed, Thessaly appears to have been the principal

seat of the Pelasgi, next after *Thrace*, their original European settlement: and *Thessaly* was the part of Greece from which the chief migrations took place into other parts. They migrated from *Thessaly*, when they settled in *Crete*, in *Lesbos*, in *Chios*, and other islands of the *Egean sea*. That body of them, which migrated into *Italy*, went first to *Dodona*, one of the most ancient *Pelasgic oracles* in Greece. *Διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τραπόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ κατοικοῦντας σφῶν συγγενεῖς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἤξιου ἐπιφέρειν πόλεμον ὡς ἱεροῖς, χρόνον μὲν τινα σύμμετρον αὐτόθι διέτριψαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ λυπηροὶ ὄντες αὐτοῖς ἠσθάνοντο, οὐχ' ἰκανῆς οὔσης ἅπαντας τρέφειν τῆς γῆς, ἐκλείπουσι τὴν χώραν, χρήσῃ πειθόμενοι κελεύοντι πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἣ τότε Σατορνία ἐλέγετο· κατασκευασάμενοι δὲ ναῦς πολλὰς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἴόνιον, σπουδῆν μὲν ποιούμενοι τῶν ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄψασθαι χωρίων ὑπὸ δὲ νοτίου πνεύματος, καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν τόπων μετέωροι ἐνεχθέντες, καὶ πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάδου στομάτων ὀρμισάμενοι Σπινῆτι καλουμένῃ, ναῦς αὐτοῦ ταύτη καταλείπουσι. Lib. I. cap. 18.* In the following chapters he describes their progress toward the middle of *Italy*, and their intercourse with its former inhabitants⁵. The next migration of the

(5.) He says (cap. 20.) Πόλεις πολλὰς, τὰς μὲν οἰκουμένας καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν, τὰς δὲ αὐτοὶ κατασκευάσαντες, φέκουν

Pelasgi into Italy he describes, cap. 31. Στόλος ἄλλος Ἑλληνικός εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας κατάγεται, ἐξηκοστῶ μάλιστα ἔπει πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσι, ἐκ Παλαντίου πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς ἀναστάς· ἠγείτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Εὐάνδρος. These two migrations of the Pelasgi laid the foundation of the similarity which subsists between the Greek and Latin languages.

Dionysius has further described the particular *dialect*, which the Pelasgi brought into Italy, and

οἱ Πελασγοὶ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ Καιρητανῶν πόλις, Ἀγύλλα δὲ τότε καλουμένη, καὶ Πίσα, καὶ Σατορρία, καὶ Ἄλσιον, καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς, ἅς ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ Τυρρήνων ἀφηρέθησαν. See also Pliny's description of Italy, Hist. Nat. Lib. III. cap. 5. where he says, that the Pelasgi drove the Umbrians out of Etruria, which they themselves afterwards yielded to the Tyrrhenians. He particularly mentions the foundation of Cære by the Pelasgi, a city not far from Rome. Strabo likewise speaks of the Thessalian Pelasgi, and their settlements in Italy. The city of Cære he calls (Lib. V. p. 220.) Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφιγμένων. And that in his opinion these Pelasgi spake Greek, appears from an anecdote, which he has related in the same place. The original name of this city, he says, was Agylla, but that its name was changed to Cære, because when it was besieged by the Tyrrheni, one of these Thessalian Pelasgi hailed a Tyrrhenian approaching the walls of the city, by exclaiming Χαῖρε. Now whether this story be true or false, yet the bare relation of it on the part of Strabo shews that he considered the Pelasgi as Greeks.

which, according to Quintilian, was so like to the Latin. He reminds the reader (Lib. I. c. 89.) τῶν Πελασγῶν, οἱ Θετταλίαν καταλιπόντες, Ἀργεῖοι τὸ γένος ὄντες, εἰς Ἴταλίαν ἀφίκοντο· Εὐάνδρου τε αὐτὸ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀφίξεως: and then at the beginning of the next chapter, says, Ῥωμαῖοι φωνὴν μὲν οὐτ' ἄκραν βάρβαρον, οὐδ' ἀπηρτισμένως Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μικτὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἡ πλείων ἸΑΙΟΙΣ.⁶ He has described also the distinguishing feature of this Æolic dialect, as used by the Pelasgi. He says (Lib. I. cap. 20.) that the Pelasgi spake *Φελένη, καὶ Φάναξ, καὶ Φοῖκος, καὶ Φανήρ, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.* He has described even the *form* of the Æolic digamma, which he says was ὡσπερ Γάμμα, διτταῖς ἐπὶ μίαν ὄρθην ἐπιζευγνύμενον ταῖς πλαγαῖσι. And the great *antiquity* of this Æolic digamma appears from his saying *σύνηθες ἦν τοῖς ἈΡΧΑΙΟΙΣ Ἑλλῆσι.*

(6.) The similarity of the Latin language to the Æolic dialect is so well known, that it is quite unnecessary to point out the various particulars. I will quote however one instance, which is not generally observed. Gregorius Corinthius, speaking of the Æolians, (p. 285. ed. Koen.) says, Τοῖς δυϊκοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, οὗτοι οὐ κέχρηται, καθὰ δὴ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τούτων ὄντες ἄποικοι. But whoever wishes to obtain more complete information on the derivation of the Latin language from the Greek, especially from the Æolic dialect, and with particular reference to the *digamma*, may consult Scheid's Prolegomena to Lennep's *Etymologicum linguæ Græcæ.*

That the Pelasgi, according to Dionysius, spake the *Æolic* dialect, does not contradict the inference above deduced from Herodotus, that they spake the *Doric* dialect. For Herodotus has only *two* divisions in regard to dialect, the γένος Δωρικόν, and the γένος Ἴωνικόν : and consequently must have included the *Æolic* in the *Doric*, as he included the *Attic* in the *Ionic*. It is true, that we should not *now* include the *Attic* in the *Ionic*, as they are not only distinct, but formed on opposite principles ; the one of contraction, the other of expansion. But the difference, which we find between the *Ionic* and *Attic* writers that have descended to the present age, will not warrant the inference, that the *Attic* was a distinct dialect at that early period when the two-fold division took place ; a division probably made long before the time of Herodotus, and which he only repeated, as he found it. Strabo, though he himself makes a four-fold division, says (Lib. VIII. p. 333.) that the *Ionic* was anciently the same with the *Attic*. Τούτων δ' αὐτῶν τεσσάρων οὐσῶν, τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΙ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φαμέν· καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες, καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένῃ γλώττῃ Ἰάδι. The same is asserted by Thucydides, Lib. I. c. 2. Ἐς Ἴωνίαν ὕστερον, ὡς οὐχ' ἰκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν. Nor is this account at variance with

what Herodotus says, Lib. I. cap. 145. where he describes his countrymen, the Asiatic Ionians, as having come from Peloponnesus, and as having named their twelve principal cities in Asia from twelve cities, which they possessed in Peloponnesus, before they were expelled by the Achæans. For the population of Asiatic Ionia consisted of emigrants from Achæa, as well as from Attica, the Ionians having once occupied both countries. Strabo (Lib. VIII. p. 383.) speaking of Achæa, says, Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ Ἴωνες ἐκράτουν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τὸ γένος ὄντες· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Αἰγυαλεῖα, καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Αἰγυαλεῖς· ὕστερον δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἸΩΝΙΑ, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, ἀπὸ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου. Indeed Attica was formerly called Ionia: ἡ Ἀττικὴ ΤΟ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ Ἴωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. Strabo, Lib. IX. p. 392. It appears then, that before the Ionians settled in Asia, the terms Attic and Ionic were *synonymous*: consequently that the Attic dialect and the Ionic dialect were *then* the same. But that the Ionians, when they settled in Asia, which was before the time of Homer, acquired a different dialect from that which they had spoken in Attica, will appear the less surprising, when we consider what Herodotus says, Lib. I. 146. that people from various quarters were mixed (ἔθνη πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχεται) with the Ionians in Asia; and that the emigrants from Athens, who

considered themselves as the *genuine* Ionians, (νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι τῶν Ἴώνων) migrated without their wives, and married *Carian* women. Hence the Ionic dialect, as Herodotus (Lib. I. c. 52.) says, assumed four forms (τρόπους τέσσερας.)

That the *Æolic* dialect, with which we are immediately concerned, was not distinguished by Herodotus from the Doric, will excite less surprise, when we consider, that the use of the digamma, which was certainly not familiar to him, was the principal, though not the sole distinction between them. Dionysius on the other hand uses the term *Αἰολίς*, because he especially considers what was *characteristic* of the *Æolic*. But if the Doric and *Æolic* are to be reduced to one class, it would be more correct to make the *Æolic* the genus, and the Doric the species; for the former was spoken over a much greater extent of country than the latter. Even in the time of Strabo the whole of Greece *without* the Isthmus used the *Æolic* dialect, except the Athenians, the Megarians, and the few Dorians who lived in the neighbourhood of Parnassus. Πάντες οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Μεγαρέων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων, καὶ νῦν ἔτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται. Lib. VIII. p. 333. The Greeks *within* the Isthmus, or the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, he represents as having been *formerly* alto-

gether Æolians. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ ἔθους ἐπικρατοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον ἦσαν. *Ib.* He adds, that a mixture took place, when Ionians from Attica possessed themselves of the sea-coast; but that the Ionians were expelled by the Achæans, who belonged to the Æolic nation (ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους). The Heraclidæ, who were *Dorians*, conquered the eastern and southern parts of Peloponnesus, the former inhabitants of which parts being *Æolians*, migrated to Asia Minor, and settled in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus⁷. Then, says Strabo, were left in Peloponnesus τὰ δυὸ ἔθνη τό τε Αἰολικὸν καὶ τὸ Δωρικόν. Of those who retained the Æolic dialect, he particularly mentions the *Arcadians* and the *Eleans*, who preserved, he says, their pristine dialect; the former being protected from invasion by their mountains, the latter by the sacredness of their territory. Οὗτοι Αἰολιστὶ διελέχθησαν. In other parts of Peloponnesus, continues Strabo, they speak Doric, in others a mix-

7. Strabo (Lib. XIII. p. 582.) having previously spoken of an event, which happened ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον καθοδὸν, immediately adds, εἶτα Ἀρχέλαον υἱὸν ἐκείνου περαιῶσαι τὸν Αἰολικόν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνήν. That these emigrants were Æolians agrees with his former assertion, that the Peloponnesians in general once used the Æolic dialect.

ture of both. But all of them, he adds, are *considered* as speaking Doric, because the Dorians happened to have the ascendancy. ΔΟΚΟΥΣΙ δὲ Δωρίζειν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπικράτειαν. It was the importance therefore of the *Spartan* nation, which obtained for the Doric the pre-eminence, which was due to the Æolic.

If we further consider the *antiquity* of the Æolic, we shall find additional reason for not making it a mere species of the Doric. That the Pelasgi spake Æolic appears from various circumstances. It was shewn in the preceding chapter, that they once occupied the whole of Peloponnesus: and that the whole of Peloponnesus once spake Æolic, appears from what Strabo relates in p. 333. It appears, from the same place, that the Arcadians in particular never changed their dialect: and we have seen that they were called Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί. The connexion between the Æolians and the *Thessalian* Pelasgi, appears from the passage quoted in the first chapter from Strabo, Lib. V. p. 220. And that they spake Æolic in Thessaly, is confirmed by Pausanias, Lib. X. c. 8. Θεσσαλίας γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἌΙΟΛΕΙΣ τημικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο. But the strongest proof, that the Pelasgi used the Æolic dialect, is derived from the circumstance, that they used the *characteristic*

mark, which distinguishes the Æolic, as well from the Doric, as from all other Greek dialects. And that they *did* use this mark, is a fact, not only asserted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but proved by its very existence in the Latin alphabet, which the Latin writers in general ascribe to the *Pelasgi*. The Etruscan alphabet, likewise derived from the Pelasgi, has the F or digamma, though Gori has very inconsistently excluded it from the place which belongs to it, and given it only as a particular form of the V⁸. That the Pelasgi used the F or digamma, appears further from the Delian, Elean, and Olympian inscriptions⁹. That the Pelasgi settled in Delos, has been shewn to be at least highly probable. That they once occupied the whole of Peloponnesus, has been proved in the former chapter: and that the inhabitants of the cities Elis and Olympia, both of which lay in the country of Elis, ever retained their dialect, appears from the authority of Strabo. From the same

(8.) See his Etruscan Alphabet in the Prolegomena to his Museum Etruscum. F and V are indeed cognate letters: but this analogy does not convert them into the *same* letter. If it did, we should make only one letter out of B and P, and again only one letter out of D and T.

(9.) Of these inscriptions, as also of several others, in which the digamma is still preserved, an account will be given in the next Chapter.

authority it appears, that the Pelasgi established themselves not only in the north (which is fully confirmed by Dionysius and Pliny), but also in the *south* of Italy. Having described Naples, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, Strabo adds, (Lib. V. p. 247.) that the Osci first occupied these with the adjacent places, and then the Tyrrheni and *Pelasgi* (εἶτα Τυρρῆνοι καὶ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΙ.) That Capua in particular received its name from the Tyrrheni, he relates, p. 242. and that the Tyrrheni were at least *connected* with the Pelasgi, if not a race of the same people, appears from the circumstance, that he mentions them as having been *together* in the south of Italy¹⁰. That the Pelasgi settled in

(10.) There is a difference in the accounts both with respect to the *time*, when the Tyrrheni came into Italy, and with respect to the country from which they came. According to Dionysius Periegetes, ver. 347. (Geogr. Min. Hudson. T. IV. p. 60.) the Tyrrheni came before the Pelasgi: according to Pliny, Hist. Nat. Lib. III. c. 5. the Pelasgi came before the Tyrrheni. According to Pliny (ib.) as also according to Herodotus, Lib. I. c. 97. they came originally from Lydia, an opinion questioned by Dionysius Hal. Lib. I. c. 30. But from whatever country they originally came, or at whatever period they entered Italy, they were probably a branch of the same stock with the Pelasgi. Dionysius, indeed, was of opinion (Lib. I. c. 29.) that they were not the *same* nation (τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος): but he had said, c. 25. ἐκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων — οἱ αὐτοὶ Τυρρῆνοι καὶ Πελασγοί.

Campania, and settled there at a very early age, is confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lib. I. c. 21. where speaking of the Pelasgi, he says, Κατέσχον δὲ τινα καὶ οὗτοι τῶν καλουμένων Καμπανῶν, εὐβότων πάνυ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡδίστων πεδίων, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν. And that they extended themselves from Campania still further southward, appears from c. 22. where he relates that the Pelasgi drove the Siculi southward, till they compelled them to cross over into the island, to which they afterwards gave name. And if the Helia, which he mentions in c. 20. as being called by the Pelasgi *Φελια*, and thence by the Latins *Velia*, is the *Velia* in Lucania, there is an additional argument for the presence of the Pelasgi in that country; to say nothing of the *later* Æolic colonies, which came into Magna Græcia from Peloponnesus.

Πελασγοί. He appeals in the same chapter to the passage above-quoted from Thucydides, Lib. IV. c. 109. where Pelasgi and Tyrrheni are mentioned as belonging to the same race. He quotes also from the (now lost) Inachus of Sophocles, καὶ Τυρρήνοισι Πελασγοῖσιν. Further, that the Tyrrheni were once inhabitants of *Thrace*, as well as the Pelasgi, appears from Herodotus, Lib. I. c. 7. and Thucyd. Lib. IV. c. 109. There can hardly be a doubt, therefore, that the Tyrrheni were a race of Pelasgi, though Pliny speaks of them as a distinct people, and as competitors for that part of Italy, which afterwards formed the kingdom of Etruria.

Under these circumstances, the Eugubian, Heracleian, and Petilian tablets, with the Etruscan statues, and the coins of Capua, all of which have the Æolic Digamma, are attended with additional interest. For, hence we see, that these inscriptions are not only such as we might *expect* them to be, but that they establish the connexion between the Pelasgi and the Digamma, and thus throw additional light on the *language* of the Pelasgi.

The connexion, therefore, between the Pelasgi and the Æolic dialect has been fully established. Indeed, it might properly be called the *Pelasgic* dialect: for it was used by the Pelasgi, before the name of *Æolic* existed. According to the Greek writers, the Æolians derived their name from Æolus, the son of Hellen¹¹, who was son of Deucalion. But the principal migrations of the Pelasgi, both to Italy, and to the islands in the Egean sea, took place from Thessaly, as we have already seen, during the reign of *Deucalion*. They carried therefore their dialect to Italy, and to the islands in the Egean sea, before that dialect had *acquired* the appellation of Æolic. Hence Herodotus, speaking of the Æolians, Lib. VII. c. 95. says, ΤΟΠΛΛΑΙ καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί.

(11.) Αἰολικὴ ἀπὸ Αἰόλου, τοῦ Ἑλλήνου. Gregorius de dialectis, p. 4. ed. Koen.

The character, therefore, which distinguishes the Æolic dialect, might properly be called the *Pelasgic* Digamma. The whole of Greece, as we have already seen, was once called Πελασγία; and that the use of the Digamma was not in ancient times confined to a particular race of Greeks, appears from the manner in which Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes it. He speaks in *general* terms (Lib. I. c. 20.) of the Digamma, as σύνηθες τοῖς ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙΣ Ἑλλήσι, whence we may consider the Digamma as the *pristine* character of the Greek language. Indeed the Greek F was a constituent part of the primitive Greek Alphabet. It corresponded, as well in form as in alphabetic order to the sixth letter of the Phœnician, or Samaritan alphabet. The sixth letter of the Samaritan alphabet, as it still appears in the Samaritan manuscripts of the Pentateuch is a double Gamal, as the sixth letter of the Greek alphabet was a double Gamma. The difference, therefore, which afterwards subsisted between the Æolic, and the other dialects, was not occasioned by an *insertion* on the part of the Æolians, but by an *omission* on the part of the other Greeks¹². Sometimes they dropt

(12.) Dawes, in his *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 113—118. ed. Burgess, has collected various passages, in which the epithet *Æolicum* is applied to the term *digamma*. But this epithet
 proves

the F, without making any compensation for it, saying ΙΣ for FΙΣ, ΑΝΑΞ for FΑΝΑΞ, ΟΙΚΟΣ for FΟΙΚΟΣ, ΟΙΝΟΣ for FΟΙΝΟΣ, &c. At other times they made compensation by the substitution of H, which in the primitive Greek alphabet, like the corresponding letter in the Samaritan and Latin alphabet, was an aspirate. Thus they substituted ΗΟΡΜΟΣ for FΟΡΜΟΣ, ΗΟΣ for FΟΣ *suus*, ΗΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ for FΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ, ΗΕΚΑΘΕΝ for FΕΚΑΘΕΝ, ΗΕΣΠΕΡΑ for FΕΣΠΕΡΑ, &c. : in the same manner as the Spaniards substitute H for F in words derived from the Latin¹³. At what period the Greek F began to be omitted, or exchanged for H, by the Dorians, Ionians, and Athenians, is a question, which we have no data to determine. That it had fallen into disuse among the Ionians, when *Herodotus* wrote, can admit of no doubt. But had it fallen into disuse among them, when *Homer* composed his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? Probably not. *Homer's* Ionic is very different from that of *Herodotus*: for it contains a *mixture* of dialects. But we cannot

proves nothing on the present question : for it is equally applicable to the digamma, whether the Æolians were the only Greeks, who *retained it*, or were the only Greeks, who *ever used it*.

(13.) Thus FARINA in Latin is HARINA in Spanish, FABΑ becomes HAVA, FIBRA HEBRA, FORMICA HORMIGA, &c.

suppose that Homer patched up his verses by culling, sometimes from one dialect, sometimes from another, as he wanted a long or a short syllable to suit the metre. Such a liberty must have appeared no less extraordinary to *Homer's* countrymen, than it would to Englishmen, if they found in the same sentence of an *English* poet, the Lancashire or Exmoor dialect jumbled with the dialect of London. The language, used by Homer, was undoubtedly the language, which was *generally* spoken in the country where he lived : and the language spoken by the Asiatic Ionians in the time of Homer must have been exactly such, as we find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. When the Ionians left Attica, to settle in Asia, a considerable portion of Eubœans (*οὐκ ἐλάχιστη μοῖρα*, as Herodotus says, Lib. I. c. 146.) was mixed with them. Now the Eubœans spake the *Æolic* dialect, as appears from Strabo, Lib. VIII. p. 333. Further, says Herodotus in the same chapter, that Arcadian *Pelasgi* (*Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ*) were mixt with these same Ionians, when they first settled in Asia. Let us now consider *when* this settlement took place. According to Strabo, Lib. XIII. p. 582. these Ionians settled in Asia Minor four generations, that is, about an hundred and thirty years after the *Æolians* had sent a colony to Asia Minor, which settled in the country called after their name *Æolis*.

And it appears from the same page of Strabo, that this Æolian colony settled in Æolis sixty years after the Trojan War. Consequently the Ionians must have settled in Asia Minor about two hundred years after the Trojan War. And, as they were mixed with so large a proportion of Eubœans and Arcadians, who spake the Æolic dialect, their immediate descendants must have spoken a language, which was a compound of both. When we consider, therefore, that Homer could not have lived *many* generations after the settlement of this mixed colony in Asiatic Ionia, the language of his countrymen must have been such as we find in his own poems. Even therefore, if the Ionians had dropt the Digamma before they quitted Attica, which is not very probable, there was a sufficient number of Æolians mixed with them, to account for the use of the Digamma among their immediate descendants. Nor must we forget that Smyrna, though reckoned by Herodotus among the Ionian cities, must at least have been partly Æolian. For Plutarch, speaking of the Smyrnæans (Sympos. Lib. VI. Qu. 8.) says, *Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες*. Now Smyrna is one of the cities, which claimed to be the birth-place of Homer. The island of Chios was another place, which claimed that honour: and the Chians were by their own

account (Strabo, Lib. XIII. p. 620.) descended from a colony of Thessalian Pelasgi¹⁴.

But let us return to the Pelasgi, who settled in Italy, and consider in the last place the *name* for Greece, which the Pelasgi brought into that country: for this name exactly corresponds with the circumstances of their migration thither.

(14.) The difficulty attending the disappearance of the digamma in the manuscripts of Homer, on the supposition, that his poems were once written with this letter, has appeared to several writers so great, as to have made them doubt, for this very reason, whether the poems of Homer could have been ever written with it. But there is the same difficulty attending the disappearance of the aspirate H, which was certainly used as such, when the poems of Homer were first committed to writing: and this letter, which in many cases was substituted for F, must have been used so much the more frequently, if F was not used. Yet we find no difficulty in supposing, that where we have now only a crotchet placed at the *top* of a vowel, there was in thousands of instances throughout the poems of Homer an H, occupying the place of a letter. We find no difficulty in supposing that Ω is now used in thousands of instances, which were once occupied by O. In short, when a *new* orthography is introduced into any language, such omissions, additions, or substitutions as are *conformable* with that orthography, are necessarily made by transcribers from one end of the transcript to the other. There is no more difficulty therefore attending the supposition of F having disappeared in ten thousand instances, than what attends the supposition of its disappearance in one.

The name by which Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Pausanias, and indeed Greek writers in general (though not wholly without exception) have called their own countrymen, is that of Ἕλληνες. But the Latin writers, where they do not use the term *Pelasgi*, generally use the term *Græci*, derived from Γραικοί. On this term, says Aristotle, (*Meteorolog. Lib. I. cap. 14. Tom. I. p. 425. ed. Casaubon.*) speaking of the country about *Dodona* (περὶ τὴν Δωδώνην) which was an ancient seat of the Pelasgi, ἔφκον οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε ΓΡΑΙΚΟΙ, νῦν δὲ ἙΛΛΗΝΕΣ. Who these Σελλοὶ were that lived in the neighbourhood of Dodona, as well as the Γραικοί, does not appear. Indeed, Strabo, who mentions them, *Lib. VII. p. 328.* doubts even how the name should be written. Nor is it of any importance, as our sole concern is with the Γραικοί. The time, to which Aristotle alludes in this passage, is the time of *Deucalion*, whom he had mentioned only a few lines before (ἐπὶ Δευκαλιῶνος). Now we have already seen, that this was the period, at which the Thessalian Pelasgi migrated to Italy, and moreover that they took their departure from Dodona. We have likewise seen, that *other* Pelasgi were established at Dodona, long before they were visited by their brethren from Thessaly. Since then Aristotle mentions only the

Γραικοὶ and the Σελλοὶ, must we not conclude that one of these names belonged to the Pelasgi? Salmasius (de Hellenisticâ, p. 342.) argues to the connexion between Πελασγός and Γραιός, by deriving the former name from *Peleg*, the latter from his son *Reu*: and according to Hesychius, s. v. Ραικός, the Γ was only a prefix. But even without recourse to etymological arguments, the very circumstance, that the Pelasgi brought the term Γραικοὶ into Italy (which is proved by the fact of the Latins using the term *Græci*) shews that Πελασγοὶ and Γραικοὶ were only different names of the same people¹⁵. Further, it appears from the Greek Chronicle on the Arundel Marbles, that the term Γραικοὶ was not confined to the neighbourhood of Dodona, but that it was *generally* a name of the Greeks before they were called Ἕλληνες. The author of this ancient Chronicle having said that the Greeks were called Ἕλληνες, from Hellen the son of Deucalion, adds τὸ πρότερον ΓΡΑΙΚΟΙ καλούμενοι¹⁶. But according to Herodotus, (Lib. II. cap.

(15.) According to Pliny (Hist. Nat. Lib. IV. c. 7.) there was a king of *Thessaly*, before the time of Hellen, who was called *Græcus*. If this be true, we again perceive a connexion between the name of Græcus, and the Pelasgi, who came from Thessaly. *Ibi nati Γραικοὶ, Πελασγοὶ et Ἕλληνες*, says Salmasius De Hellenisticâ, p. 319. See also p. 294.

(16.) Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 1. lin. 11. ed. Londin. 1732. fol. (ed. Mattaire.)

56.) the general name of Greece, before it received the name of Ἑλλάς, was Πελασγία: which confirms the inference, that Πελασγοὶ and Γραικοὶ were only different names of the same people. Now the Pelasgi migrated to Italy *before* the inhabitants of Greece had taken the name of Ἕλληνες. Hence the Latins *first* knowing them by the names of Πελασγοὶ and Γραικοὶ, used no other terms for them. These coincidences, as they *agree* with every thing which has been said about the migration of the Pelasgi into Italy, and their introduction of the Greek language, tend also to *confirm* the conclusions, which have been drawn in this Chapter.

CHAP. III.

OF THE PELASGIC OR ÆOLIC DIGAMMA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VARIOUS INSCRIPTIONS, IN WHICH IT IS STILL PRESERVED: WITH REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ITS APPLICATION.

THE *language* of the Pelasgi having been considered in the preceding Chapter, we are led in the next place to consider the *letters* of the Pelasgi, the Γράμματα Πελασγικά, as termed by Diodorus Siculus¹. That the use of letters was *known* to the Pelasgi, appears from this very expression: and we have already seen, that the Latin writers are unanimous in asserting, that the Pelasgi were the people who brought letters into Italy. But though the Pelasgi brought letters into Italy, and consequently must have had the use of them in Greece, various questions still remain to be examined, on the subject of the Πελασγικά γράμματα. The Pelasgi may have brought them into Europe, when they first migrated from Asia: or they may have afterwards *invented* them: or they may have learnt them from

(1.) Lib. III. c, 66. Tom. I. p. 36. ed. Wesseling.

some other people, who settled in Greece at a later period than themselves. An inquiry therefore into the origin of the Greek letters involves such a variety of questions, that it must be deferred to the *second* Part of the *Horæ Pelasgicæ*, which will contain a History of the Greek Alphabet, from its origin to its completion. But, since the Digamma in particular was characteristic of the *language* of the Pelasgi, an account of it, as represented in ancient inscriptions, with an inquiry into its original Pelasgic pronunciation, will be properly introduced in the *first* Part.

When Montfaucon published his *Palæographia Græca*, he despaired of our ever obtaining a sight of this ancient letter engraved on monuments, while it was still in use. Impressions of coins, with the inscription FAΛΕΙΩΝ , had been published indeed by Goltz, above an hundred years before; the authenticity of which has been fully ascertained by later publications. But Montfaucon either overlooked them, or doubted their authenticity, or as the word is a *proper* name, which begins with F in Latin, required the evidence of a Digamma prefixed to an *appellative*. And this evidence, though afforded by the inscription copied by Tournefort from the pedestal of a statue in the island of Delos, of which Montfaucon himself gave a fac-simile, he

did not perceive, because he took the F for an imperfect E. When Chishull published his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, he ascertained (p. 16.) that the letter, which Montfaucon had taken for an imperfect E, was really an F: and the whole line (for a line makes the whole inscription) has been so well illustrated by Bentley, that further explanation is unnecessary. Doubts indeed have been entertained in regard to the *accuracy* of this inscription: but they are not such, as to confute the opinion, that the Digamma was used in that inscription². But every doubt, which might have been entertained on the existence of the F in Greek inscriptions was finally removed in 1783, by the discovery of a brass tablet near the site of the ancient *Petilia*, which may therefore be called the *Petilian* tablet. As *Petilia*, or, as it is sometimes written *Petelia*,

(2.) These doubts have been occasioned by the word AFVTO, which appears in that inscription. AFTO would have been a genuine Pelasgic form for AVTO, which is pronounced AFTO by the Greeks at this very day. V as a *consonant* is so allied to F, that in all probability the Pelasgi used the latter in numerous instances, where we now find the former. But the employment of *both* F and V in the same word, certainly appears anomalous. The *cause* of this anomaly is assigned with great probability by Mr. Payne Knight. *Cum sculptor incertus haberet, an AFTO antiquiore modo, an AVTO seriore scribendum esset, utramque litteram adhibuit.* Prol. in Homer. §. LXXXV.

was a town in the country of the *Bruttii*, and the Pelasgi, as was shewn in the second Chapter, settled in that country, the Digamma must have been used at Petilia. And accordingly we find on the Petilian tablet, the word 'OIKIAN very distinctly engraved FOIKIAN. A description of this tablet, which appears to have attracted very little notice in England, was given by Lanzi, p. 108. of the first volume of his *Saggio di lingua Etrusca*, published at Rome in 1789, where it is named *Lamina Borgiana*, because it was deposited in the Museum of Cardinal Borgia at Velletri. But in the same year, a *fac-simile*, with an explanation of it, was given in the fifth number of a Classical Journal, published at Gottingen, under the title *Bibliothek der alten Literatur*; where the tablet is called, from the subject of it, *Tessera hospitalis*. The form of the Digamma in this inscription exactly corresponds with the description given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It consists of two perfect gammas, each of the same size, with the lines at right angles to each other. And one gamma is so placed on the other gamma, that each of them is joined by the two side strokes being drawn into one straight line, or in the words of Dionysius, Lib. I. cap. 20. *δίτρωις ἐπὶ μίαν ὀρθὴν ἐπιζευγνύμενον ταῖς πλαγίαις*. The whole figure is likewise erect. Since therefore the Digamma, which is used in the

Petilian inscription, appears in every respect so perfect, since it comes so near to the Latin F, which was formed from it, and moreover appears in the same shape on the Greek coins, which have proper names beginning with the Digamma³, the F, which is here used, has been cast in imitation of it: and it is certainly as good a form, as any which we can adopt, when we write Greek words with the Digamma.

In 1795, Mr. Morritt discovered in the Alpheus near Olympia a brass helmet, with an inscription on it of a single line, which certainly contains the Digamma. A copy of this inscription was given in the *Classical Journal*, Vol. I. p. 328. But as doubts were there expressed, whether the F, which is distinctly visible, was not rather an imperfect E, I will endeavour to remove those doubts, to which I am the more inclined, as this helmet was found in a place, where the Æolic dialect was always used, and consequently where we may *expect* the Digamma. Some of the letters of the first word being effaced, we can only *conjecture* what it was: but as it was evidently *some* proper name in the

(3.) For instance, on the coins with the inscription FAΛEIQN, as also on those with the inscription FAΞIQN. Of these coins more will be said in the next Chapter.

plural number, and as it is of no importance to our present inquiry *what* that proper name was, I shall confine myself to the words, in which we must seek for the Digamma. These are, when written, *continua serie*, as on the helmet,

ANEΘENTOΙΔIFI.

Now we are hardly at liberty to argue, as if any of *these* letters were effaced, for in the very description, which is given in the Classical Journal, it is said "the surface of *all that remains* is perfectly "preserved, and the letters are deeply impressed, so "that *every line* is distinctly visible, as it was originally formed." We must read therefore, without any attempt at correction, ANEΘEN TOI ΔIFI, that is, ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Δίῳ, *posuerunt Jovi*. The contraction of ANEΘEEΣAN to ANEΘEN, where room was so much wanted, cannot excite our surprise. It is true, that the contraction would not have been allowable even in *such* a case, had it been *contrary* to the practice of the Greeks at other times. But the writers on the Greek dialects assure us that it was not. In the Port Royal Greek Grammar, p. 200. we find ἔθεσαν *Bœot.* ἔθεν; and the Bœotians used the *Æolic* dialect, as well as the Olympians. In p. 39. of the Synopsis Dialectorum, at the end of Scapula's Lexicon, ἔθεν pro ἔθεσαν is given also as a Doric form. And Maittaire (p. 309. ed. Sturz.) refers to Pindar Pyth. III. 114. for τίθεν, instead of

ἐπίθεσαν. If on the other hand we so divide the words as to write ANEΘENTO, we militate against the usual practice of the Greeks: for in such inscriptions they used the *active*, not the *middle* voice, as appears from the three inscriptions, of which Herodotus has given a copy, Lib. V. c. 69, 70, 71. Besides, if we connect TO with ANEΘEN, what are we to do with the remaining ΙΔΙΦΙ? If we conjecture that F is E, with the lower line effaced, and read ΙΔΙΕΙ (for ἰδίη) we not only produce an Ionic form, but act inconsistently with the alleged state of preservation. There remains therefore no other solution, than to read ANEΘEN. The TOI which follows can create no difficulty, being the form, which afterwards became τῶ. Nor is ΔΙΦΙ for Δίι contrary to the analogy of the Greek language. It has been thought indeed *anomalous* to insert the Digamma in such a word as Δίι. But to judge of the Digamma, we should not speak of *insertion*: for it was a constituent part of the primitive Greek alphabet: and our present forms were occasioned by the *omission* of it. Let us ask therefore, in the first place, in what manner the *nominative* Ζεὺς, or rather Δεὺς, according to the Æolic form, was originally written by the Pelasgi. They could not *at first* have written ΔΕΥΣ: for Υ was an *addition* to the primitive Greek alphabet, which ended with T, like the Phœnician, Samaritan, Hebrew, Chaldee,

and Syriac alphabets. **F** on the other hand was a constituent part of the primitive Greek alphabet: it was the sixth letter in the Greek alphabet, as the corresponding letter was in all the alphabets just mentioned. The word, therefore, which was afterwards written $\Delta E V \Sigma^4$, and then $\Delta E Y \Sigma$, must at first have been written $\Delta E F \Sigma$ or $\Delta I F \Sigma^5$. But the genitive and dative of $\Delta I F \Sigma$ could have been no other than $\Delta I F O \Sigma$ and $\Delta I F I^6$, which when the Digamma was *dropt*, became $\Delta i \acute{o} s$, and $\Delta \acute{i} i$. Hence also we see the *reason* why $\Delta i \acute{o} s$ and $\Delta \acute{i} i$ came to be the genitive and dative of *Zeus*. In like manner $N i \psi^7$, $\nu i \phi \acute{o} s$, $\nu i \phi \acute{i}$, was originally $N I F \Sigma$, $N I F O \Sigma$,

(4.) When the $\Upsilon \psi i \lambda \acute{o} n$ was first introduced, it had the same form with the corresponding letter of the *Latin* alphabet, namely **V**. By degrees one of the sides was lengthened, and it acquired the form of **Y**: but it was some time before the two lines, which form the angle, were bent into the present form **Y**.

(5.) The Greeks at this very day pronounce $Z E V \Sigma$ as if it were written $Z E F \Sigma$, $\text{B A \Sigma I A E V \Sigma}$ as if it were written $\text{B A \Sigma I A E F \Sigma}$, A T P E V \Sigma , as if it were written A T P E F \Sigma . And as the genitive of A T P E F \Sigma must be $\text{A T P E F O \Sigma}$, we may thus account for the patronymic $\text{A T P E F I \Delta H \Sigma}$, or $\text{A T P E F I \Delta A \Sigma}$.

(6.) The existence of $\Delta I F O \Sigma$, as used for an *adjective*, is proved by the Latin *Divus*.

(7.) The nominative of this word has not been found in any Greek author now extant: but as $\nu i \phi a$, the accusative, is used by Hesiod, the nominative must also have existed. It is true, that

most

NIFI: *Nix, Nivis, Nivi*. Κατήλιψ, κατήλιφος, κατήλιφι was originally KATEAIFΣ, KATEAIFOS, KATEAIFI. And even *ιφι*, though now considered as an adverb, was a dative, of which IFΣ was the nominative: for *ιφι* must at first have been written IFI. Or rather, if we may judge from Iliad A. 38., the nominative was FIFΣ and the dative FIFI. For that line of Homer must have been originally written,

ΚΙΛΛΑΝΤΕΖΑΘΕΑΝΤΕΝΕΔΟΙΟΤΕΦΙΦΙΦΑΝΑΣΣΕΙΣ.⁸

most Lexicographers make *νιφα* the accusative of *νιφας*, and say it is by *apocope* for *νιφαδα*. But *Ernesti*, in his edition of Hederich, derives it from *νιψ*. And the adjective *νιφοεις*, which cannot come from *νιφας*, he derives from *νιφος* the genitive of *νιψ*.

(8.) Heyne, in his conjectural emendations, writes FIFI: and Mr. Payne Knight, in his Prolegomena, does the same. But the word must have been *previously* written FIFI: for Φ was a still later addition to the primitive Greek alphabet, than the V ψιλόν. The Greek V (the *ancient* form of the Y ψιλόν, as will be proved in the next Chapter) had been added to the primitive Greek alphabet, before the Pelasgi brought letters into Latium: but Φ had *not* then been added. For the analogy of the Latin to the Greek alphabet goes as far as V, and there ceases. Nor was Φ added to the Greek alphabet, till after the age of Homer, if we may judge from the *Columna Naniana*, on which the words, now written with Φ, are written with ΠΗ, as they afterwards were in Latin with PH. Whether the author (or authors, if there were more than one) of the several books, which compose the Iliad, committed them to writing, or not, is a question

In like manner, again, NAYΣ was written NAFΣ, of which the genitive and dative, NAFOΣ, NAFI, gave rise to the Latin *Navis*, *Navi* : and, when the Digamma was *dropt*, to the Greek *ναός*, and *vai*. BOYΣ was written BOFΣ, of which the genitive and dative, BOFOΣ and BOFI, gave rise to the Latin *Bovis*, *Bovi* ; and, when the Digamma was *dropt*, to the Greek *βοός*, and *βοί*. Upon the whole then we must conclude, that the Olympian inscription affords a genuine example of the manner, in which the Pelasgi employed the Digamma : and it is therefore much to be wished, that we had an *engraving* of this inscription. Through want of such an engraving, I am unable to say in what *form* the Digamma there appears ; whether it resembles the form on the Petilian tablet, or the form of that, which comes next to be described.

Another inscription, discovered in the same country of Elis, was brought to England by Sir William Gell, in 1813. An engraving exactly re-

a question of no importance to the present subject. Whoever it was, that first committed them to writing ; in whatever country, or in whatever age, the reduction of them to writing took place ; it must have been in a country, and in an age, in which the Greek F was still in use. Otherwise the *insertion* of the F would not be the means of restoring a correct verification.

536. presenting this inscription has been made by order of Mr. Payne Knight: a copy of it is given in the *Museum Criticum*, Vol. I. p. 356: and it is known at present by the name of the *Elean* inscription. No proof can be necessary of the existence of the Digamma in *this* inscription: for it occurs not less than *seven* times in ten lines. This inscription, therefore, is of very great importance in the history of the Æolic Digamma. It was not only found in a country, where we know that the Digamma was constantly used, but it further exemplifies the *application* of the Digamma to words, of which we had no evidence before. We know, that in various instances, where the other Greeks used the aspirate H, the Æolians used F. But the Æolians did not *always* use F, where the other Greeks used H. That the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium, used both H and F, appears from the Latin alphabet, which contains both of those letters. It appears likewise from various Latin words, which correspond with the Greek. Though they wrote FOV and FOI (that is *oŭ* and *oi*) in the sense of *sui*, and *sibi*⁹, and FOΣ

(9.) Priscian (ap. Putsch. p. 546.) quotes *Νέοτροπα δὲ Φοῦ παιδός*. The versification of Homer *requires* F before *oŭ* and *oi* in the sense of *sui* and *sibi*, (or *ejus* and *ei*), as well as before *oŭ* *suis*. Heyne, therefore, in his conjectural emendations of Homer, has very properly prefixed to them the F.

in the sense of *suus*, yet they must have written the *article* with H. If they had not written HOI and HAI, the Latins would not have written HI and HAE¹⁰. If the Pelasgi had not expressed the later forms, ὥρα, αἰπέω, ἥρως &c. by HOPA, HAIPEO HEPOS &c. the Latins would not have written HORA, HAEREO, HEROS, &c.¹¹ We could not therefore be certain, that Ἑρως, for instance, even if aspirated, was written by the Æolians FETAΣ. But that it *was* so written, now appears from the Elean inscription. With respect to non-aspirated words, our chief dependence has hitherto been on the corresponding Latin words. If Latin words, beginning with F or V, have Greek words corresponding to them, which begin with a vowel, we may conclude that the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium, used in such cases their F.

(10.) Nor would F prefixed to the *Article* suit the versification of Homer; for which reason, Heyne has never prefixed F to the *Article*. Nor is it probable, that the *relative* δε was ever written FOΣ. In the Elean inscription, the plural οὐ appears in the form of TOI.

(11.) The common rule, therefore, that the Æolians *never* aspirated their words, must admit of some exceptions. At the same time it must be observed, that the Elean inscription affords an illustration of the rule. For though ἑκατόν was undoubtedly written HEKATON by other Greeks in ancient times, the word is engraved on the Elean tablet EKATON, without either F or H. Nor would FEKATON suit the versification of Homer.

Hence we infer, that *is* was written FΙΣ, οἶκος FOI-KOΣ &c. But for words, which have no corresponding words in Latin, we want *Greek* authority: and this *Greek* authority has hitherto been very sparingly afforded. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lib. I. c. 20.) has given us *two* such examples, ἀναξ and ἀνήρ, of which only *one* is applicable to the poems of Homer: for ἀνήρ does not there admit the F¹². But the Elean inscription, in addition to the authority which it affords for ἔτης (sometimes written ἔτης) affords authority that ἔτος, ἔπος, and ἔργον were written with F. In the second line we find ΕΚΑΤΟΝΦΕΤΕΑ: and in the third and fourth lines ΑΙΤΕΦΕΠΟΣΑΙΤΕΦΑΡΓΟΝ. The corrections, therefore, which have been proposed in the versification of Homer, receive from this inscription a very remarkable and very unexpected confirmation. Among the words, to which Heyne, in his edition of Homer, has in the marginal emendations prefixed F, on the ground, *that*

(12.) We must not however conclude, that Dionysius was *mistaken* in regard to ἀνήρ. We cannot suppose that the practice of the Æolians was the same at all times, and in all places. If the Æolic dialect, as used by *Homer*, rejected F before ἀνήρ, it might, and probably *was*, used by other Æolians; or Dionysius would not have given it as an example.

the metre required it, we find all the four words *ἔτης*, *ἔτος*, *ἔπος*, and *ἔργον*¹³.

Again, this inscription confirms the opinion, that words, now beginning with an aspirated 'P, began in the *old* Æolic with FP, though the *later* Æolians, according to the Greek grammarians, began such words with BP¹⁴. For *ρήτρα* is here very distinctly engraved FPATPA. Further, the Elean inscription shews, that the *ancient* name of Elis was FAAIΣ. Lastly, the Elean inscription shews, that where the Υ ψιλόν is *now* used, F was frequently used by the ancient Æolians. For we find TOIPFAΛEIOIΣKAITOIΣEFAOIOIΣ¹⁵, which would now be written τοῖς Ἠλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐναίοις.

(13.) See the list of words, to which he has prefixed the Digamma in Vol. VII. p. 730. &c. Mr. Payne Knight, likewise, in his Prolegomena to Homer, prefixes F to the three last, though not to the first, which he writes †ETHΣ. See the re-impression of his Prolegomena in the Classical Journal, Vol. XVI. p. 305. When he publishes the text of Homer with the Digamma, for which the learned world will be much indebted to him, as no man is better qualified for the undertaking, he will of course prefix the Digamma to *ἔτης* (or *ἔτης*) as the use of it in that word is now confirmed by the Elean inscription.

(14.) See *Gregorius de dialectis*, p. 270. ed. Koen.

(15.) It is remarkable, that the form TOIP occurs in the first instance, though not in the second. TIP however is used for TIS in the seventh line.

Instead therefore of the present orthography EYA, the Eleans used EFA¹⁶.

With respect to the *form*, in which the Digamma appears on the Elean tablet, it so far differs from that of the Petilian tablet, that the cross strokes make an acute, not a right angle with the side stroke. But this trifling difference can be considered only as one of those variations, which frequently appear in other letters, as used in different countries. In the Delian inscription, the cross strokes make likewise an acute angle with the side stroke. As the Gamma itself was formed, sometimes with a right angle, sometimes with an acute angle, the angles of the double Gamma were regulated accordingly. But the rectangular F, was not peculiar to those Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium. Dutens had a coin of *Axus* in Crete, of which he has given an impression at the beginning of his *Paleographie Numismatique*: and the inscription, as he there represents it, is FAΞIQN. Coins likewise have been lately disco-

(16.) Who the Evœans were, with whom the Eleans made a compact, of which the tablet is a record, it would be foreign to our present subject to inquire. There are coins, however, with the inscription EYA, which have been referred to *Eva* in Arcadia.

vered in Peloponnesus with the inscription FA-
AEIQN, on which the F is erect, and rectangular¹⁷.

Nearly in the same form, as on the Petilian tablet, the Digamma occurs four times on the *Orchomenian* marble, which was brought from Orchomenus in Bœotia, and now forms a part of Lord Elgin's Museum. A copy of the two passages, in which the Digamma is there used, was kindly communicated to me by W. Hamilton Esq. one of his Majesty's under Secretaries of State. From these two passages it appears, that the inscription on the Orchomenian marble is the record of an agreement, made by the inhabitants of Orchomenus with those of the neighbouring city Elatea, and relating to the common pasturage between the two places. That the Digamma was used both at Orchomenus and at Elatea, appears from Strabo's description of the countries where the Æolic dialect was spoken, as quoted in the preceding Chapter. Accordingly, we find on the Orchomenian marble, FIKATI for εἴκοσι, and FETIA ΠΕΤΤΑΡΑ, for ἕτεα τέτταρα. But for Ἐλατεία, there is in two places FEΛΑΤΙΗ, with the Ionic termination. The inscription has other particularities, which are worthy of notice: but

(17.) Of these coins, of which I have seen impressions, more will be said in the next Chapter.

we are at present concerned only with the Digamma.

Another inscription with the Digamma, likewise in the same form, was lately copied by Mr. Gropius, from a marble found near the site of the antient Crissa, on the northern shore of the Corinthian bay. It consists of only three lines, the first and third of which are engraved from right to left. A copy of this inscription was communicated to me by a friend, who is lately returned from Greece, and who received it from Mr. Gropius. The word, in which the Digamma appears, *seems* to be FOMA the Æolic form of $\delta\mu\eta$. At least the four letters F, O, M, and A follow each other very distinctly in the first line. But as the next five letters constitute ΠΘΙΤΟΝ (for $\phi\thetaι\tau\acute{o}\nu$, the letter Φ not being then invented,) FOMA is perhaps equivalent to the dative $\delta\mu\eta$, taken in the sense of *similiter*. Or the whole may be one word, a compound of $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon$ with $\acute{\alpha}\phi\thetaι\tau\omicron\nu$. I give these as mere conjectures: for all attempts to discover the meaning of the inscription have been hitherto fruitless. But with respect to the Digamma *in particular*, its existence on that inscription cannot be doubted¹⁸.

(18.) It is true, that FOMOΣ for $\delta\mu\omicron\sigma$ would not suit the versification

The same kind of Digamma, namely, one upright Gamma placed on another upright Gamma, was adopted in the Etruscan alphabet, as appears from the inscriptions on the Etruscan statues, and on that Eugubian tablet, which was published by *Gruter*.¹⁹ That it was adopted also in the Latin alphabet, is well known. And that its form, as used by the Romans, came still nearer to the Greek form, than our common printed F, appears both from ancient Latin inscriptions, and from the Latin manuscripts, discovered lately at Herculaneum.

Another form, in which the Æolic Digamma appears, is that of an upright gamma Γ placed on an inverted gamma ʌ, so as to form Ɔ. This form again corresponds with the description given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The two gammas are joined by the two side strokes being drawn into one straight line. *This* form has been generally supposed to

verification of Homer. But we have already seen, that this is no argument against the use of it by *other* Æolians.

(19.) See his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*. Tom. I. p. 144. But the F is there turned round, because the letters are engraved after the most ancient form, from right to left: a mode which was retained even in Greece, till after the Trojan war. For Pausanias, in his description of Elis (Lib. V. cap. 25.) says, that he himself saw there a statue of *Agamemnon*, with the inscription, ἐπὶ τὰ λαῖά ἐκ δεξιῶν.

be confined to such inscriptions, as have been discovered in Italy. But there are coins, with the inscription $\Gamma\text{A}\Xi\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ as well as with the inscription $\text{FA}\Xi\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ ²⁰. We have seen that Dutens refers the latter to *Axus* in Crete, and Lanzi, in his *Saggio di lingua Etrusca*, Tom. I. p. 84. refers the former to the same place. It is true, that we find no such place as *Axus* in Crete, either in Latin dictionaries, or in the common books of ancient Geography. But that there *was* such a place in Crete, appears from Herodotus, Lib. IV. c. 154. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Κρητης}\ \text{Ἀξὸς}\ \text{πόλις}$. The form Γ was not therefore confined to Italy: for it appears that *both* forms were used in Crete, which was once occupied by the Pelasgi, as well as Italy²¹. But in Italy this form has been found in *various* places. It is the form used on the Heracleean tablets; that is, two brass tablets discovered at *Heraclea*, on the Tarentine bay, engravings of which, accompanied with a very ample description, are given by Mazochi in his *Æneæ Tabulæ Heracleenses*, Neapoli 1754. fol. For instance, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{κοσι}$ appears in the form of ΓEIKATI , whence the Latin *viginti*. We find also $\Gamma\text{E}\Xi$ for $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$, $\Gamma\text{E}\text{TO}\Sigma$

(20.) See *Pellerin Troisième Supplement*, Pl. V. No. 2.

(21.) *Odyss.* XIX. 177.

for ἔτος, and ΕΙΔΙΟΣ for ἴδιος²². In this word ἴδιος we have again a proof, that the Digamma was used by *some* Æolians, when it would not suit the poems of Homer: for Heyne very properly says, Vol. VII. p. 758. ἴδιος in Homero, non Fιδιος. This form appears also on the coins of Capua, which have the inscription ΚΑΠΕ for ΚΑΠΦΑ, that is, for CAPVA, in the same manner as MINEPFA occurs on the Etruscan statues for MINEPVA. Moreover, those coins of Capua have the inscription from right to left, which shews their great antiquity. These inverted letters I cannot represent for want of types: but impressions of two such coins may be seen in the fourteenth plate of Dr. Combe's *Nummorum veterum populorum et urbium, quæ in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur Descriptio figuris illustrata*. Another coin, with the same inscription, preserved in the Imperial cabinet at Vienna, is given by Eckhel, in his *Numi veteres anecdoti, Tab. II. N. 5*. The same form of the Digamma appears also on that Eugubian tablet, which was published by Gori²³. It occurs also occasionally on the Etruscan statues²⁴. But

(22.) See the plates at p. 284. of Mazochi Tab. Her. with his Note at p. 130.

(23.) *Museum Etruscum*, Tom. I. p. lv.

(24.) *Ib.* Tab. XII. This form **Ϝ** has been sometimes called
the

though the Digamma is so frequently found in Italy, and in both forms, no inscription has been discovered in *Sicily* with the Digamma. At least Paruta, in his *Sicilia numismatica*, has given no example. Sicily was colonized by *Dorians*.

Lastly, the Digamma is to be considered in its quality as a *numeral*. Vaillant, in his *Historia Ptolemæorum*, p. 39. has given impressions of two coins, in which the square form Ϛ *appears* at least to denote 6: and Liebe, in his *Gotha numaria*, p. 126. has given a third example. But there is an instance in the Codex Bezae, which is subject to no doubt. In this MS. at Mark XV. 33. p. 650. of Dr. Kipling's edition, where the text, as usually printed, is Γενομένης δὲ ὥρας ἑκτῆς, σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, we find, as expressed in the types cast in imitation of the manuscript,

ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΩΡΑΣ · Ϛ ·
 ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ
 ΕΦΟΛΗΣΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΩΣ ΩΡΑΣ · θ ·

the *Pelasgic* form of the Digamma. But the other form is *equally Pelasgic*: for this is the form, which was brought into Latium, and brought thither by the Pelasgi.

This form \sqsubset , which was cut in imitation of the manuscript, is the more remarkable, as in the numerals, used in the *margin* for the Ammonian sections, which were added, however, by a *later* hand, the form ζ occurs in every instance. When Wetstein collated this MS. the form \sqsubset appeared to him so singular, that he took it for Γ , and supposed that the lower line was added by some later hand. He accordingly quoted, in his edition of the Greek Testament, the Codex Bezae as having ‘ Γ a primâ manu’. But I can testify from repeated inspection, that the lower line has precisely the same coloured ink with the other strokes, and that there is every indication of the *whole* figure having been written by the same person²⁵. $\tau\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ is moreover a reading, which has been found in no manuscript whatever at Mark XV. 33. and in the *Latin* of the Codex Bezae SEXTA is written at full length. Now this mark \sqsubset , thus preserved in the Codex Bezae, which, in consequence of its having denoted the sixth letter of the primitive Greek alphabet, is the *proper* mark of six, enables us to

(25.) This mistake of Wetstein may help to explain the numerous errors in our present copies of Hesychius, where we find Γ in places, in which it is manifest that the Digamma should have been written. Transcribers, not accustomed to the form \sqsubset , substituted from their own conjecture Γ .

account for the otherwise-*inexplicable* form ζ for six. We see that this latter form arose out of the original form C , merely by rounding the corners in writing, and shortening the lower line by a turn of the pen in finishing the stroke. But the lower line appears to have been shortened only by degrees: for there are coins still extant with the mark for six, in which, though the corners are rounded, the lower line has the same length with the upper line²⁶.

(26.) See *Pellerin Recueil de Medailles de peuples et de villes*, at the end of the *Avant-propos*. Exactly in the same manner, as the mark for six was rounded to its present shape, a mark for Sigma was converted into the round form, which appears in MSS. written with uncial letters. The most ancient form of Sigma was probably Σ : but it sometimes appears in the form of C , as may be seen in *Pellerin Melange de diverses Medailles*. And this form C was in writing rounded to the form C.—Whether the circumstance, that both F and Σ were sometimes represented by the same mark, had any influence in the conversion of $\text{FE}\Xi$ or $\text{CE}\Xi$ into SEX , of FEPHO or CEPHO into SERPO , &c. or whether F and Σ were occasionally represented by the same mark, in consequence of some similar analogy of both those letters to H , are questions, which may deserve consideration, though they would be foreign to our present inquiry.

CHAP. IV.

AN ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE THE ORIGINAL PELAGIC PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIGAMMA.

As the Greek F corresponds to the Latin F, both in form, and in alphabetic order (it having been the sixth letter in both alphabets), the inference, which naturally presents itself, is, that the two letters agreed also in *sound*. The letters of one alphabet admit of three analogies in reference to the letters of another. They may agree in *form*: they may agree in alphabetic *order*: they may agree in *sound*. Now when the two first analogies take place, the presumption is, (unless reasons can be given to the contrary) that the *third* also was not wanting. If the Latins borrowed their F from the Greek F, and assigned to it the sixth place in their alphabet, because it had the sixth place in the Greek, it is not probable that they pronounced it in any other way, than that, in which they heard the *Greeks* pronounce it. We must conclude, therefore, that the Greek F corresponded in *all* respects to the Latin F. And this inference is con-

firmed by the circumstance, that the very letter, namely, the Latin V, to which the Greek F is *supposed* to have corresponded, agreed in all its analogies with *another* letter of the Greek alphabet: analogies, which could not hold good in respect to *two* letters. That the *Greek* Υ had originally the same form with the *Latin* V, is evident from its form on the very ancient Eugubian tablets¹. The same form V is used also on the Petilian and Elean tablets, described in the preceding Chapter. It is preserved also on the Sigean marble, though the later form of it is *likewise* found there². The form V is preserved also on ancient Greek coins³.

(1.) See the fac-simile of the Eugubian tablet, published by Gori, in the first volume of his *Museum Etruscum*. This tablet, with four other in Greek, and two in Latin characters, were discovered in 1444, at Gubbio or Ugubio, in the Dutchy of Urbino, formerly *Iguvium*, in the country of the Umbri. The five in Greek characters are all engraved after the most ancient fashion, from right to left.

(2.) See the fac-simile in the plate facing p. 4. of Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*: and p. 3. of Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*.

(3.) Many examples of this kind may be seen in the plates to *Paruta Sicilia Numismatica*: for instance, Tab. XXXVII. Num. 5. Tab. XLI. N. 43. 48. Tab. XLIII. N. 63. 65. Tab. LV. N. 183. 189. Other examples may be seen in the plates 18. 22. 27. 28. 29. 38. 53. to Dr. Combe's *Nummorum Veterum populorum*

That the Latin V corresponded to the Greek V (for so I will now form it according to its pristine shape) in *alphabetic order*, is evident from the circumstance, that in both alphabets it follows T, which in both alphabets is preceded by S, and so upward. That they originally corresponded also in *sound* may be proved by a comparison of the *old* Latin words, in which V is used, with the correspondent Greek words. *Mūs* in Greek became *Mus* in Latin, *Σῦς* became *Sus*, *Τὺ Τυ*, *Λύω Luo*, *Τύρβα Turba*, *Κύβος Cubus*, &c. &c.⁴ It is true,

populorum et urbium, qui in Museo Hunteriano asservantur, *Descriptio figuris illustrata*. See also Spanheim *De usu et præstantiâ Numismatum*, Tom. I. p. 96: and Dutens *Troisième Dissertation sur quelques médailles Grecques et Pheniciennes*. Pl. I.

(4.) Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, is quoted by Velius Longus to the same purport. 'Verrio Flacco videtur eandem esse apud nos V literam, quam apud Græcos v. Namque his exemplis argumentatur; quod illi dicunt *κῦμινον*, nos *cuminum*; quam *κωπάρισσον* nos *cupressum*; illi *κυβερνήτην*, nos *gubernatorem*; necnon ex ejusmodi Theseus, Menæceus, Peleus, et similibus affirmat. — And to shew that both the Greek and the Latin V had originally the *same form*, Velius Longus immediately adds, Græcorum vero, qui de *antiquis* literis scripserunt commentaria, ii item *Latinorum*, qui illos secuti sunt, **EADEM LITTERA veteres solitos scribere ostendunt.** *Putschii Grammatici Veteres* p. 2215. The observation of Velius Longus is confirmed by Tacitus, who says (Annal. XI. 14.) formæ literis Latinis, quæ *veterrimis* Græcorum. It is again confirmed by Pliny, who says (Hist. Nat. Lib. VII. cap. 58. which is entitled

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that when Greek words were introduced into the Latin language in *later* ages, as for instance in the time of Cicero, when the Latins stood in *new* connexion with the Greeks, the form ν was introduced to express the Greek ν , because the Greek ν itself had then *acquired* that form, which it had not, when the Pelasgi brought letters into Latium. And this *new form* became in the Latin alphabet a *new letter*, though in the Greek alphabet it was only a different form of the *same letter*. And that this ν was really a *novelty* in the Latin language in the time of Cicero, appears from the manner, in which he himself speaks of it. He says, '*Purrrhum* semper Ennius, nusquam *Pyrrhum* : and he adds, *Fruget* non *Phryges* ipsius antiqui declarant libri'⁵. The Latin V therefore corresponded to the Greek ν in all the analogies, which letters can bear to each other. They corresponded in alphabetic order, in form, and in sound. It is true, that the Latin V was used also as a *consonant*. But

De literis antiquis) *Veteres Græci* fuisse easdem pæne, quæ nunc sunt Latinæ, indicio erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ est hodie in Palatio. In like manner Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lib. IV. c. 26.) speaking of an inscription on a brass pillar erected by Servius Tullius, which was then preserved in the temple of Minerva, represents the letters as those, οἷς ΤΟ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρᾶτο.

(5.) Orator, cap. 48.

so also was the Greek **V**. At this very day we pronounce $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\delta$ in the same manner as *David*. Nay, there is reason to believe, that the very epithet $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$ was given to it in its quality of *consonant*. This epithet implies the existence of some *cognate* letter, which in reference to **V** was $\delta\alpha\upsilon$: for except in reference to a *cognate* letter there was neither need nor ground of *distinction*. Now exactly such a letter was the Greek **F**. For if we pronounce the Greek **F** and the Greek **V**, as **F** and **V** are *usually* pronounced, they are two cognate letters, the former of which is $\delta\alpha\upsilon$, the latter $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$. That they are cognate, is evident from the mode of uttering them; for they are both uttered by a pressure of the lower lip on the upper teeth. And **F** is $\delta\alpha\upsilon$, because it is pronounced by *expelling* the breath, whereas **V** is $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$, because it is pronounced by *drawing the breath gently inward*⁶. The examples

(6.) The relation which **F** $\delta\alpha\upsilon$ bore to **V** $\psi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu$ as a consonant, was observed by Joseph Scaliger, who says, (Animadv. in Euseb. Chronicon. p. 110.) Indifferenter Æoles ΑΥΩΣ et ΑΦΩΣ dicebant pro $\acute{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ aurora. Sic apud Priscianum, καὶ χεῖμα πῦρ τε δάϕιον, quod aliter δάυιον, id est, δῆιον hostile. EFA on the Elean tablet corresponds, as we have seen, to EVA or EYA. Hence **V** may be often considered as a *substitute* for **F**, being often employed for it, when the **F** had fallen into disuse. Heyne, in his second *Excursus* on the Digamma, says, (Vol. VII. p. 709.) Digamma per Y redditum videmus in Pindaro: $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$ pro $\alpha\Phi\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$ Pyth. III. 42. II. 52. ubi v. Schol. Sic $\alpha\upsilon\iota\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ pro $\alpha\Phi\iota\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$.

indeed of the Greek **V** as a *consonant*, though in that quality it obtained its *epithet*, are now rare according to *our* mode of pronouncing Greek. But as the Greeks themselves pronounced their **V**, it occurred frequently as a consonant. And that the Greek **V** preserved its analogy to the Latin **V**, even when it was used as a *consonant*, appears from the inscriptions on Greek coins, which have words corresponding with the Latin⁷.

αΦιαχος. v. ad Il. N. 41. — To these examples may be added, Σιγευευσι in the Sigean inscription, where if we consider each *ev* as a diphthong, the word is very uncouth, both in pronunciation, and in grammatical form. But if we divide the word thus, ΣΙΓΕ-VEV-ΣΙ, and consider **V** as a *consonant*, substituted for **F** at a time, when **F** was fallen into disuse, the inconvenience is at once removed. We may thus also account for the two forms, which appear in this inscription, ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ and ΣΙΓΕΥΕΥΣΙ, which Dawes (*Miscellanæ Critica*, p. 122.) considered as irreconcilable. If ΣΙΓΕ-FEFΣ was the original nominative, ΣΙΓΕ-FEF-ΣΙ, and (when **V** was substituted for **F**) ΣΙΓΕ-VEV-ΣΙ would of course be the dative plural. Again, if at a period, when orthography was subjected to little or no rule, we suppose that the termination was indifferently written FEFΣ or FIFΣ, (as FETIA is for FETEA on the Orchomenian marble) the nominative plural of ΣΙΓΕ-FIFΣ would be ΣΙΓΕ-FI-FEΣ, or, without the Digamma, which was then not used at Sigeum, ΣΙΓΕ-I-EΣ. We see, therefore, in what manner ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ might become the nominative plural of a word, which had produced ΣΙΓΕVEVΣΙ for the dative plural.

(7.) Examples will be given in the sequel.

Since then the *Latin V* was analogous to the Greek *V* in all its various relations, it could be only so far analogous to any *other* letter of the Greek alphabet, as the Greek *v* *itself* was analogous to that letter. We must conclude, therefore, that the *Latin V*, as well as the Greek *V*, had a cognate sound with the Greek *F*, but so far *differed* from it, as the one was ψιλόν, the other δασύ. What then shall we conclude with respect to the analogy of the Greek *F* to the Latin *F*, which was likewise δασύ? No other inference remains, than, that the correspondence between them was *entire*. We have seen that the Greek *V* corresponds to the Latin *V*, in order, form, and sound. We know also, that the Greek *F* corresponded to the Latin *F* in order, and in form. Consequently they must have corresponded in the only remaining analogy, that of *sound*. For, if this third analogy of the Greek *F* be referred to the Latin *V*, we interfere with the analogy, which this same Latin *V* has been shewn to bear in all its relations to *another* letter. We must conclude, therefore, that there was a perfect analogy between the Greek *F* and the Latin *F*, as there was between the Greek *V* and the Latin *V*. In this manner the two alphabets preserve their *harmony*: whereas if we refer a letter, which is nearly at the head of one alphabet, to a letter which is nearly at the bottom of the other, and moreover

to a letter, which has a very different form, the harmony of the two alphabets is totally destroyed.

Let us now consider the argument, which has been employed for the purpose of shewing, that the Greek F did *not* correspond to the Latin F, but to the Latin V. This argument is founded on the observation, that Greek words, which began with the Digamma, began in Latin with V. Thus FΙΣ became VIS, FOIKOΣ became VICVS, &c. Now if the Latins had *always* used V, where the Greeks used F, there would be some force in this argument. But the force of it is totally destroyed by a circumstance, which they, who have used it, have *overlooked*. The Greek F was not only expressed by the Latin F as well as by the Latin V, but *more frequently* by the former, than it was by the latter.

In the first place, all Latin words beginning with F, and now beginning in Greek with Φ, were written with an F by those Pelasgi, who brought Greek words and Greek letters into *Latium*. For F was a constituent part of the primitive Greek alphabet, as will be more fully shewn hereafter, whereas Φ was a late *addition* to the primitive alphabet. Indeed that the Pelasgi, who brought letters into *Latium*, (as Pliny and Solinus assure us) used F and not Φ, appears from the Latin alphabet *itself*, which has

the former, but not the latter. We are told, indeed, both by Scholiasts and by Grammarians, that before the invention of the Greek Φ, words now written with Φ were written with ΠΗ, in the same manner as the Latins wrote Philippus and Philosophus. And this assertion has received additional weight since the discovery of the *Columna Naniana*⁸, on which we find ΕΚΠΗΑΝΤΟΙ and ΑΜΕΜΠΗΕΣ. But if in *one* part of Greece ΠΗ was used where Φ is used at present, is it a necessary consequence, that this orthography was observed in *every* part of Greece? Is it also a necessary consequence that ΠΗ was used in the *earliest* ages, because it is used on the Nanian marble? It was F, which was of the *highest* antiquity; and ΠΗ was used only in that *intermediate* state, when F was beginning to fall into disuse, and Φ was not yet introduced. And that the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium, never used such an orthography as ΠΗ, is manifest from the orthography of the *old* Latin words. For if the words, which now begin with Φ, had been written by the *Pelasgi* with ΠΗ,

(8.) This marble was discovered in the island of Melos, one of the Sporades, and was deposited in the Museum of the Senator *Nani* at Venice, whence it derived its name. It was first described by Corsini, in a Dissertation published at Rome, in 1756, and has since been described more fully by Perelli. See also Lanzi Saggio di lingua Etrusca, Tom. I. p. 93.

the Latins, who learnt to write from them would have followed their example. But *not a trace* do we find of this orthography in the Latin language, till the conquest of Greece by the Romans, when there was a *fresh* importation of Greek words into Latium. The Romans then *began* to write with PH the words which they *then* found written with Φ. And that this orthography was not introduced till after the time of Ennius, is evident from the passage above quoted from Cicero. *Fruges, non Phryges, ipsius antiqui declarant libri.*

We may lay it down therefore as a rule, that whenever a word, now beginning with Φ in *Greek*, begins with F in *Latin*, that same word was written likewise with F by those Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium. Nor can any difference, which may have *afterwards* subsisted between the Greek Φ and the Latin F, invalidate this rule. The total disappearance of F among the Dorians, Ionians, and Athenians, after the invention of Φ, may be best explained on the supposition, that the two letters had a similar sound. Even the Æolians, the only Greeks who *continued*, at least for any length of time, the use of F, after the introduction of Φ, must yet have pronounced the two letters in a similar manner. The most ancient among the Latins,

according to Priscian, pronounced the *Æolæ* F in the same manner as the *Æolian*s pronounced Φ⁹. But if the Latins, who borrowed *their* F from the Greek F, pronounced the Greek F like the Greek Φ, the persons from whom they *derived* their F, could not have given to their own F a sound, which was very dissimilar. It is true, that in the time of Priscian, and even in the time of Cicero, if we may judge from the joke ascribed to him by Quintilian about a Greek's pronouncing *Fundanius*, the Greek Φ could not *then* have had *precisely* the sound of the Latin F. But it had *nearly* the sound (proper sonum) of the Latin F, as Priscian himself declares¹⁰: and Priscian, though he could not immediately compare with the sound of the Latin F the sound of the Greek F, which he had never heard, could certainly compare with it the sound of the Greek Φ. Further, when the Greek F had fallen into disuse, and consequently Latin names, beginning with F, could no longer be expressed in Greek by F, Greek writers *invariably* supplied its place by Φ. Both Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus afford numberless examples of this kind. *Fabius*, which the Pelasgi would have written FABIOS, they express by Φάβιος: *Faustulus*, which the Pelasgi would have written FAVSTVΛOΣ,

(9.) Putschii Grammatici Veteres, p. 542.

(10.) Ib. ib.

they express by Φαυστύλος; &c. &c. These remarks, while they confirm the point, immediately to be proved, tend further to establish the relation, which the *Greek F* bore to the *Latin F*.

Another rule, which we may safely adopt, is, that wherever Greek words, now beginning with a *vowel*, whether aspirated or not, have *F* prefixed to them in *Latin*, those same words had *F* prefixed to them by the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium¹¹. A third rule is, that where Greek words now begin with an aspirated 'P, and have words corresponding to them in Latin beginning with *FR*, those words originally began with *FP*, likewise in Greek, the aspirate being nothing but a *substitution* for the *F*¹². A fourth rule is, that

(11.) That the use of the Digamma was not confined to such words, as now begin with an *aspirated* vowel, appears from the examples, which are given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lib. I. c. 20. Φάναξ, Φοῖκος, Φατήρ. It further appears from the account, which he has given of its use. He says in *general* terms, that it was ~~the~~ custom to prefix it to words beginning with vowels (προτιθέναι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅποσων αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ φωνηέντων ἐγίνοντο). And that it was *frequently* prefixed to words beginning with a vowel, appears from the expression, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, which immediately precedes προτιθέναι,

(12.) Gregorius, in his treatise περὶ τῶν διαλέκτων, p. 270. ed. Koen, says, αἱ Αἰολεῖς τὸ Β τῷ Ρ προσνέμουσι, ὅταν τῷ Ρ ἐπιφέρηται

wherever Greek words, now beginning either with B or with Θ, begin in Latin with F, those same

φέρηται Γ, ἢ Κ, ἢ Δ, οἶον Βρυτήρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐντήρ, Βράκος ἀντὶ τοῦ Πάκος, Βρόδον ἀντὶ τοῦ Ρόδον. This rule may seem to interfere with the derivation of *Fractus* from ΦΡΑΚΤΟΣ as the Æolic form of Πηκτός. For, according to the rule of Gregorius it ought to be ΒΡΑΚΤΟΣ, because Κ follows in the next syllable. Now as the example, which Gregorius himself gives is Πάκος, with Κ alone, it is not analogous to Πηκτός, where ΚΤ follows. But the most effectual answer is, that the observations of Gregorius were founded on the orthography, which he saw in Æolian writers at a time, when their works had *ceased* to be written with F. Consequently his *silence* about prefixing F is no proof that the Æolians did not in *ancient* times so employ it. But F before P had not *wholly* disappeared from the manuscripts of Alcæus even in the third century. For Trypho, a Grammarian of Alexandria, and a disciple of Origen, says in his ΠΑΘΗ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ, that he had found the word Πῆξις in his copy of Alcæus written in one instance Φῆξις. This work of Trypho, which was first printed by Constantinus Lascaris, is re-printed in the *Museum Criticum*, Vol. I. p. 33—42. And the passage in question is thus correctly given at p. 34. on the authority of the original editor: "Ἀπαξ δὲ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ Πῆξις καὶ Φῆξις εἶρηται. It is certain therefore, that ΦΡΑΚΤΟΣ, not ΒΡΑΚΤΟΣ, was the old Æolic form of the word, for which the Latins wrote FRACTUS. And even were it possible, that a doubt should remain, that doubt would be removed by the Elean inscription, in which Πήτρα is expressed, not by ΒΠΑΤΡΑ, but by ΦΠΑΤΡΑ.

words began likewise with F among the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium¹³. Fifthly, as the long Ω was invented long after the time, when the Pelasgi brought letters into Latium, and H was then used, not as a vowel, but an aspirate, we must substitute O for Ω, and either A or E for H, as the analogy of the Æolic dialect may require, in representing Greek words according to the *Pelasgic* orthography.

With a due observation of these rules, I will now give a list of Latin words beginning with F, and derived from the Greek, which will afford abundant proof, that the Latin F is the proper representative of the Greek F, as well in its *application*, as it is in *form* and *alphabetic order*. And to make the examples more intelligible, each of them shall be written, first according to the *present* Greek form, then according to the old Æolic or *Pelasgic* form, and thirdly according to the *Latin* form.

(13.) Gregorius says of the Æolians, p. 289. Ἄντ' τοῦ Θ τὸ Φ, Θλάται, Φλάται. But where the later Æolians used Φ, the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium, must have used F. The rule also, that Φ was substituted for B (Mataire, p. 515. ed. Sterz.) admits of the same answer.

Φυγή,	ΦΥΓΑ,	FVGA.
Φήμη,	FAMA,	FAMA.
Φρατήρ,	FRATER,	FRATER.
Φηγός,	FAGOS,	FAGVS.
Φύω,	FVO,	FVO.
Φόλλις,	ΦΟΛΛΙΣ,	FOLLIS ¹⁴ .
Φῶρ,	FOP,	FVR.
Φῦκος,	FVKOS,	FVCVS.
Φύρω,	FVPO,	FVRO.
Φεύγω,	FEVTO,	FVGIO.
Φάω, φῶ,	FO,	{ FO, whence <i>for</i> and <i>fari</i> .
Φύλλον,	FVΛΛON,	FOLIVM.
Φόρος,	FOPOS,	FORVM.
Φερέτρον,	FERETPON,	FERETRVM.
Φηλέω, φηλῶ,	FALO,	FALLO.
Φάος,	FAOS,	FAX.
Φανόν,	FANON,	FANVM.
Φατόν,	FATON,	FATVM.
Φλέω,	FLEO,	FLEO.
Φλέγω,	FLAGO,	FLAGRO.
Φλέγμα,	FLAGMA,	FLAMMA.

(14.) The most *ancient* form of the Greek Λ was not unlike that of the Latin L, but I cannot represent it, for want of a type: nor is it *necessary at present*, as our inquiry relates only to the F. The same observation which applies to Λ, applies also to Δ, Π, and Σ, which in the most ancient inscriptions differ but little from the Latin form.

Φλάω, φλῶ,	ΦΛΟ,	FLO.
Φροντίς,	ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣ,	FRONS.
Φάσις,	ΦΑΣΙΣ,	FACIES.
Φατίζω,	FATIZO,	FATEOR.
Φήληξ,	ΦΑΛΛΞ,	FALLAX.
Φαιστός,	ΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ,	FESTVS.
Φρύγω,	ΦΡΥΓΟ,	FRIGO.
Μορφή, met. } φορμή, }	ΦΟΡΜΑ,	FORMA.
Ὀμιλία,	ΦΟΜΙΛΙΑ,	FAMILIA.
Ὑρρη,	ΦΥΡΚΑ,	FVRCA.
Ἀκαλός,	ΦΑΚΑΛΟΣ,	FACILIS.
Ἴνες,	ΦΙΝΕΣ,	{ FVNES, and perhaps FINES ¹⁵
Εἰρμός,	ΦΕΙΡΜΟΣ,	FIRMVS.
Οἶδος,	ΦΟΙΔΟΣ,	FOEDVS.
Ἄστος,	ΦΑΣΤΟΣ,	FASTVS ¹⁶ .
Ἡνίον,	ΦΑΝΙΟΝ,	FRAENVM.
Αἰθάλη,	ΦΑΙΘΑΛΑ,	FAVILLA.
Ὀρμος,	ΦΟΡΜΟΣ,	FORMIAE.

(15.) That *Ἴνες* was written **ΦΙΝΕΣ**, we may infer from II. H. 269. Φ. 191. And Heyne has in both places prefixed the Digamma.

(16.) That *Ἄστυ*, from which *Ἄστος* is derived, was written by the Æolians **ΦΑΣΤΥ**, appears from coins, which are still extant. See Eckhel *Doctrina Veterum numorum*, P. I. Vol. II. p. 196., and Heyne's *Homer*, Vol. VII. p. 720. Indeed the versification of Homer every where *requires* *Φάστυ*.

Ἰῶς,	{ FVIOΣ, or }	FILIVS ¹⁷ .
	{ FIIOΣ,	
Ῥιγέω,	FPIΓEO,	FRIGEO.
Ῥίγος,	FPIΓOΣ,	FRIGVS.
Ῥήγω,	FPAΓO,	FRANGO.
Ῥηκτός,	FPAKTOΣ,	FRACTVS.
Βλύω,	FΛVO,	FLVO.
Βρέμω,	FPEMO,	FREMO.
Θήρ,	FEP,	FERA.
Θυρίς,	FVPIΣ,	FORIS.
Θέρω,	FEPFO,	FERVEO.
Θυμός,	FVMOΣ,	FVMVS.

(17.) FVIOΣ was probably derived from FVO, written afterwards φύω. But both FVIOΣ according to the Æolic form, and HVIOΣ according to the Attic form, were still *dissyllables*, the Iota being pronounced before O like the Hebrew Jod ; so that the former sounded nearly as we should pronounce Fu-yos, the latter as we should pronounce Hu-yos. It is remarkable that the Spanish language, which in respect to F and H, bears the same analogy to the Latin, which the Attic bore to the Æolic, has converted FILIO into HIJO. Thus rejecting the L, which the Latins had *inserted*, as well as changing F into H, they have brought the word back again from the Latin-Æolic to the Attic form. If it be objected, that the Æolians could not have used FVIOΣ, where the other Greeks used HVIOΣ (now written ἰῶς) because the versification of *Homer* would not allow of that form, I answer that the versification of *Homer* will no more allow the use of FANHP, and FANΔPOΣ for ἀνήρ and ἀνδρός than of FVIOΣ for ἰῶς. Yet Dionysius of Halicarnassus positively asserts, that the most ancient Greeks *did* write Fανήρ for ἀνήρ, as well as Fάναξ for ἀναξ. Indeed

These examples are sufficient to shew, that the Latin F was the proper representative of the Greek F. And hence we may infer, that in those cases, where V is used, the V is merely a substitute for the *Latin* F, which, though naturally hard in reference to V, acquires in certain cases a softer sound than at other times, and thus becomes more easily exchanged. When the Latin F was followed by the consonants l, r, or the vowels a, o, u, it preserved the hard sound, which naturally belongs to it, and consequently was not so liable to be changed. Thus in *Flamma, Fluo, Frango, Frigeo, Fama, Fagus, Follis, Folium, Fuga, Fumus*, and others of the same description, the F was not converted into V. But before the vowels e and i, the F acquired a *softer* sound, and accordingly was

the syllable FAN is the *radical* syllable in both words; it may be still recognised in the Mæso-Gothic FAN, which signifies *dominus*; in the Sclavonian PAN, which has the same meaning; and perhaps even in the Celtic PEN, Ἡρ again must have been written by the Pelasgi FEP, as appears from the Latin VER, though it would not suit the versification of Homer. Nor would Fελος for ελος suit the versification of Homer, though Fελος was used by other Æolians. We must not conclude, that because Homer, who used a *mixture* of Ionic and Æolic, did not pronounce a word with F, neither the Æolians in Greece itself, nor the Pelasgi who brought letters into Latium, wrote that word with F. But as the objection has been already answered in the third Chapter, it is unnecessary to say any thing further.

often, though not always, changed into V. Hence *Festa, Felia, Festis, Fis, Finum, &c.* as written according to the Greek form, from which they were taken, became *Vesta, Velia, Vestis, Vis, Vinum, &c.* On the other hand, in *Fera, Fero, Firmus, Filius, &c.* the F remained. But when F was placed between two vowels, it necessarily acquired a softer sound: and in such cases it appears to have been *always* changed into V. Hence *ofis, ofum, &c.* became *ovis, ovum, &c.* On a similar principle to that, which changed F into V, when F was so placed as to lose a portion of its natural hardness, V was sometimes changed into F, when it was so placed, as to lose a portion of its natural softness¹⁸.

II.

But to the arguments, here employed to prove, that the Greek F corresponded to the Latin F, will be opposed perhaps the authority of the old Latin grammarians, who have declared, that the Greek F corresponded to the Latin V. Dawes, in the fourth section of his *Miscellanea Critica*, has selected passages from Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and Priscian, and then concludes, at p. 121.

(18.) MINEPVA, for instance, is exchanged on Etruscan statues for MINEPFA. See Gori *Museum Etruscum*, Vol. II. p. 407.

ed. Burgess. *Ex locis jam descriptis illud in transcurso observare est, quam frustra sint ii, qui Æolicum F eidem apud Latinos figuræ potestate itidem respondisse contendunt. Uno utique ore consentiunt auctores laudati elementum istud alteri apud Latinos V consonanti fuisse ἰσοδύναμον.* But let us ask whether any of these grammarians, even the most ancient among them, Terentianus Maurus, who lived in the reign of Trajan, ever *heard* the Greeks pronounce their letter F. Even to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote in the time of Augustus, this letter was a piece of antiquity, as well as to ourselves. He says the use of this letter was customary with the *ancient* Greeks (σύμθεσ τοῖς ἈΡΧΑΙΟΙΣ Ἑλλήσιν): which implies that it was not used by the Greeks of his *own* time. In the Attic, Ionic, and Doric dialects, it had been out of use at least five hundred years. It had been retained only by the Æolians, whence it acquired its name: and even the *Æolians* must have ceased to use it in the time of Dionysius, or he would not have represented the use of it as the practice of ancient, in contradistinction to modern times. In the Augustan age, the *Attic* dialect was the general standard of Grecian taste: and no Latin writer after that period could have had an *opportunity* of hearing the Digamma pronounced. When they said, therefore, that the Digamma corresponded

to the Latin V, it could have been nothing more than an *inference*, drawn from a comparison of Greek words, in which the Digamma had been used, with the Latin words derived from them. And they concluded, that the Digamma corresponded to that letter, which, according to *their own observations*, the Latins had employed for it. The accuracy therefore of their conclusion must depend on the question, whether their observations were sufficiently *extensive*, to warrant an inference on the pronunciation of the Digamma. Now both Terentianus Maurus, and Priscian, have *quoted* the Latin words, from which they drew their conclusion. Terentianus Maurus quotes *Vespera, Vesta, Vestis, Vis, Ver* : and Priscian quotes *Davus, Argivus, pavo, ovum, ovis, bovis*. But not one single example have either of them quoted from among the many Latin words, in which the Latin F was used for the Greek F. Overlooking *these* examples, and observing only those with V, they *concluded*, that the Latin V was the *sole* representative of the Greek F : and hence they further concluded, that the Greek F had the *same sound* with the Latin V. But the premises, from which they argued, have been already shewn to be false. Consequently there can be no truth in the conclusion. The inference, therefore, which was drawn in the former part of this Chapter, that the Latin F cor-

responded in *all* respects to the Greek F, is unshaken by the assertion of the Latin grammarians. But if the Greek F corresponded to the Latin F, then the whole of the reasoning about the pronunciation of the Greek F, which is founded on the supposition of its correspondence with the Latin V, whether that reasoning applies to English or to French letters, falls at once to the ground.

But since Priscian holds the highest rank among the old Latin grammarians, let us inquire more minutely into what he says of the Digamma. In the passage quoted by Dawes, at p. 117, Priscian says indeed, *V vero, loco consonantis posita, eandem prorsus in omnibus vim habuit, quam apud Æoles Digamma F*. But there are other passages in the same Chapter, entitled, *De numero litterarum apud veteres*, which lead to a very different conclusion. At the beginning of that chapter, speaking of the Æolic Digamma, he says, *apud antiquissimos Latinorum eandem vim, quam apud Æoles habuit φ*¹⁹. Now if the most *ancient* among the Latins gave to the Æolian F the same sound as to the Æolian φ, they could not have given to the Æolian F the sound of the Latin V. Priscian adds, *cum autem prope sonum, quem nunc habet F, significabat*

(19.) Putschii Grammat. Vet. p. 542.

P cum aspiratione: sicut etiam apud veteres Græcos pro Φ, Π et Η. Indeed the sound of the Greek Φ was so near to the sound of the Latin F, that when the Greek F had fallen into disuse, the Greek Φ was invariably used for the Latin F. The correspondence between the Greek Φ and the Latin F is further declared by Priscian in the following words. Φ, cujus locum apud nos F obtinet, quod ostenditur in his maxime dictionibus, quas a Græcis sumpsimus, hoc est, fama, fuga, fur, &c. And Priscian, though he could not immediately compare the sound of the Latin F with the then obsolete Greek F, could compare it with the sound of the Greek Φ. If then the most ancient among the Latins pronounced the Greek F-like the Greek Φ, and the Greek Φ even in the time of Priscian was pronounced nearly like the Latin F, there could not according to Priscian's own account, have been much difference between the Latin F and the Greek F. And this difference will vanish altogether, when we consider the reason, which Priscian himself assigns for the substitution of the Latin V in the place of the Greek F: He says in the same chapter, that V was used for the Digamma, *quod cognatione soni videbatur affinis esse Digamma ea litera.* This perfectly accords with what was said above, namely, that when V was used for the Digamma, the substitution must be ascribed to its having a *cognate*

sound. But what was the letter of the *Latin* alphabet, which had a cognate sound with V? No other than F. The letter F therefore must have been the letter of the *Latin* alphabet, which had the *same* sound with the Greek F.

But if the Digamma was pronounced like F, why was it called Vau? Does not this very *name* imply, that it was pronounced like V? Priscian himself, in the place where he says that the Digamma was pronounced like the Latin V (ap. Putsch. p. 545.) adds, *Unde a plerisque ei nomen hoc datur, quod apud Æoles habuit olim F Digamma, id est VAV, ab ipsius voce profectum, teste Varrone et Didymo, qui id ei nomen esse ostendunt.* That the Digamma was called VAV, may be readily granted: but the inference deduced by Priscian, when he says, *VAV ab ipsius voce profectum*, may be disputed. Varro, who was a Roman, wrote it as Priscian did. Didymus, who was a Greek grammarian of the fourth century, must have written it *Bav̄*, as it is written by Marius Victorinus, who says, (ap. Putsch. p. 2468.) *vocarique Bav̄ et Digamma*²⁰, and as it is still written by the Greeks of the present day, who *pronounce* it however

(20.) Dawes, in quoting this passage, at p. 116. ed. Burgess, has substituted the Latin VAV for the Greek *Bav̄*.

as *we* should pronounce *Vaf*, the *v* being considered as a consonant, and *B* being pronounced like *V*, whence the coincidence between the Latin *VAV* and the modern Greek *Bav*. But we cannot argue to the manner, in which the *ancient* Greeks pronounced their *F*, either from the manner, in which the name of it was afterwards expressed in *Latin* letters, or from the manner, in which the *later* Greeks expressed it, when both the form and the sound of it was lost among them, and they could only express the name by an *imperfect substitution*. We must ask how the *ancient* Greeks wrote it at the time when the Digamma was *still in use*. Now there cannot be a doubt, that *they* wrote the name of their letter with *F*, for the very same reason that the names *Beta*, *Gamma*, *Delta*, began with *B*, Γ , Δ . Indeed if the *form* of the letter is not used in the *name* of the letter, the thing to be expressed will not correspond with the expression. And since the letter *F* was a constituent part of the primitive Greek alphabet, whereas *V* was afterwards added to it, and *F* must have had a name from the beginning, that name could have been no other than *FAF*, whence the Latin *AF*, afterwards softened to *EF*²¹. Let us now apply Priscian's argument to

(21.) We find the same analogy between *EM*, the *Latin* name for *M*, and *MEM*, the *Hebrew* name for *M*, which perhaps at one time was the *Greek* name.

the *Greek* name for the Digamma, the only name to which it *can* be applied; and his argument (ab ipsius voce profectum) will run thus. Would the Greek F have been named FAF, if it had not been pronounced F? ²²

(22.) An argument of the same kind, as that which Priscian applied to the Greek VAV, might be applied to the Phœnician or Samaritan VAV: but the same answer applies in *both* cases. VAV is the sixth letter of the Samaritan alphabet, as the Digamma was in the Greek: it was formed out of two *Gamals*, as the Greek F out of two *Gammas*: and moreover the *Samaritan Gamal* had nearly the same shape with the *Greek Gamma*. Since then both of them were called VAV, must not the one as well as the other, have been *sounded* like V? In this argument the fallacy lies, as before, namely, in making *Latin* letters the groundwork of our reasoning about names, which must be written in their *proper* characters, before we can draw any conclusion from them. Now FAF was the Greek name: 𐤀𐤀 was the Samaritan name. And as the Greek FAF is expressed in Latin letters by VAV, so modern grammarians have expressed the sound of the Samaritan 𐤀𐤀 (i. e. the name of the letter 𐤀) in Latin characters by VAV. But we can no more conclude from this *Latin* name to the pronunciation of the Samaritan 𐤀, than from the Latin name of the *Greek F* to the pronunciation of the Greek F. And as it is certainly fallacious in the one case, so it may in the other. Another case, which is exactly in point, might be quoted from the German alphabet. The German name for V is likewise *Vau*: and if we argued merely from the circumstance that the name begins with V, without having *heard* how the Germans pronounce it, we might come to the same conclusion as in the case of the Greek F, and the Samaritan 𐤀.

But

III.

But if the obstacles presented by the *Latin* grammarians are easily surmounted, it may not be

But the conclusion would be *erroneous*. For the Germans pronounce *Vau* in the same manner, as they pronounce *Fuu*. And though at present they pronounce *au* as a *diphthong*, yet they formerly pronounced *VAV*, as *we* should pronounce *FAF*. The pronunciation is now indeed a vulgarism: but this is only a proof of its antiquity. But if we know not in what manner Samaritans and Phœnicians pronounced the letter, which we call *VAV*, we know in what manner the Arabs pronounce *their VAV*: for Arabic is a living language. And the Arabs pronounce their *VAV* not like the English *F*, but like the English *W*. But surely we may argue with equal reason from the pronunciation of modern *Jews*, as from the pronunciation of modern *Arabs*, when the question relates to the ancient pronunciation of Samaritan letters: and the modern *Jews* do *not* pronounce their *VAV* as the modern *Arabs* do. In fact, we can argue from the pronunciation neither of modern *Jews*, nor of modern *Arabs*, to what was the pronunciation of the Phœnicians and Samaritans three thousand years ago. If we argue from the pronunciation of modern *Jews*, we shall conclude, that the second letter of their alphabet was pronounced by David and Solomon, as *we* pronounce *Veth*: in like manner, as we should conclude that Socrates and Plato pronounced the second letter of the Greek alphabet, as *we* pronounce *Veta*, if we argued from the pronunciation of the modern Greeks. But Socrates and Plato certainly pronounced *B*, not as we pronounce *V*, but as we pronounce *B*. For the following quotation from their contemporary Cratinus, is given by Suidas, Tom. I. p. 432. ed. Küster, Ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος, ἄσπερ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ, ΒΗ ΒΗ λέγων βεδίξει.

so easy to surmount another obstacle, which is presented by a *Greek* writer. How could the Greek F have been pronounced like the Latin F, when Dionysius of Halicarnassus has informed us, that it was pronounced like the Greek diphthong OY? In the very chapter, where he describes the *form* of the Digamma (Lib. I. c. 20.) and in the sentence immediately preceding that description, he says, Σύνηθες γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλησι, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ προτιθέναί τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅπόσων αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ φωνηέντων ἐγίνοντο, τὴν OY συλλαβὴν, ἐν στοιχείῳ γραφομένην. Here the expression ἐν στοιχείῳ γραφομένην, added to the description, which immediately follows in regard to the *form* of the Digamma, clearly shews, that Dionysius employed the syllable OY, for the purpose of explaining its *pronunciation*. And if it *rightly* explains the pronunciation of the Greek F, the arguments, which have been used in favour of the Latin F, must be deemed inconclusive. I will not, however, say with Dawes (Miscell. Crit. p. 121. ed. Burgess.) *Nemini unquam alii οὐδ' ἐν ονειροῖς* in mentem venit, eandem fuisse Græci F, quam syllabæ OY potestatem. For not only his learned editor, but the still more learned Dr. Foster, has undertaken to *defend* the representation of Dionysius. The former, appealing to Dr. Foster, says, p. 422. *Optime Dionysium defendit Fosterus de Accent. et Quant. p. 127 – 130. Nempe Dionysius Græcum F, et*

Latini V²³, per cognatum sonum OY extulit. Atque id eum recte fecisse docet Fosterus ex consuetudine Græcorum, qui Severus scribunt Σεουηρος; Verus, Ουηρος; Varro, Ουαρρων, &c. ut Latinis similiter ουαι in væ abiit. To understand how this argument applies to the defence of Dionysius, it must be observed, that immediately before the sentence beginning with *σύνηθες γάρ*, &c. he had expressed by *Ούέλια*, the name of a town, which the Latins expressed by *Velia*, and which the Pelasgi, to whom the chapter immediately relates, had expressed by *Φέλια*. With the aspirate H the town was called *Ηέλια*, from *ἔλος*, a fen²⁴; but the Pelasgi called it *Φέλια*, and they so called it, as Dionysius says, *κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον*. Out of *Φέλια* the Latins made *Velia*; and for *Velia* Dionysius wrote *Ούέλια*, as the disuse of the Digamma prevented him from expressing the *ἀρχαῖος τρόπος*, according to its pristine *form*. But to determine, whether his substitution is correct, two things are necessary to be proved; first, that Dionysius has rightly represented the Latin consonant V by the Greek diphthong OY; and secondly, that the Latin consonant V corresponds to the Greek consonant F.

(23.) Is not this an Erratum for *Latinum*?

(24.) Ἐν οἷς ἦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδη, as Dionysius says in the same place.

In the argument used by the learned editor of the *Miscellanea Critica*, the latter position is taken for granted; and the question, whether Dionysius has rightly represented the Greek F, is made wholly to depend on the question, whether he has rightly represented the *Latin V*. But it has been already proved that the Latin V does *not* correspond to the Greek F. Consequently, no argument can be valid, which is *founded* on that supposition. If it be objected, that Dionysius himself took the *same thing* for granted, and therefore that the thing itself must be true, I admit the premises, but deny the inference. In what manner the Greek F had been pronounced by the ancient Greeks (τοις ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήταιν), he could not have known from actual experience. Though he had *seen* the Digamma, and was therefore a competent witness to its *form*, yet as he never could have heard it *pronounced* by the Greeks, he could be no witness at all in regard to its *pronunciation*. He himself was an Ionian, but fashioned after the Attic model, which was then considered as the standard of excellence by the Greeks in general. At *that* time there were no longer Æolian poets, from whom Dionysius could have heard the sound of their characteristic F. That the Æolic Digamma was fallen into disuse before the time of Dionysius, appears indeed from Greek inscriptions, which in

other respects are manifestly Æolic, and yet though as ancient as the age of Dionysius, have no trace of the Digamma²⁵. He had no other mode therefore of ascertaining what the pronunciation was, than the mode, which was adopted by Terentianus Maurus; namely, a comparison of the Greek words, in which F had been used, with the words derived from them in the Latin. And as these *Latin* words were pronounced, so he concluded, that in ancient times the *Greek* words had been pronounced. Now the words, which he *selected* for comparison, were merely words beginning with a V. One instance is the word *Velia* itself: another instance, which he has given in the next sentence, is *Vicus*, for which he quotes *Φοῖκος*. But not a single example has he observed of those Latin words beginning with F, which began in Greek with F. He argued, therefore, from the same imperfect premises, from which Terentianus Maurus argued, and consequently arrived at the same false conclusion.

We see then, that Dionysius was *mistaken*, in regard to one of those very conditions, on which

(25.) See for instance the Cumæan inscription, Tom. II. Pl. LVI. LVII. LVIII. of Caylus Recueil d' Antiquités. The Cumæ, where the marble was found, was Cumæ in *Æolia*, as Count Caylus expressly declares, Tom. II. p. 181.

the accuracy of his representation depends. If the Greek F does *not* correspond to the Latin V, his representation of the Latin V by the Greek diphthong OY may be as accurate as his advocates assert, and it will still be false, that the Greek diphthong OY is a just representation of the Greek consonant F. It may appear, therefore, superfluous to examine the question, whether he has, or has not, fulfilled the *other* condition. But that nothing may be wanting to vindicate to the Greek F its genuine Pelasgic pronunciation, I will endeavour to shew, that Dionysius has *not* rightly represented even the Latin V in *Velia* by the Greek OY.

When it is supposed, that Dionysius has properly represented the Latin V in *Velia* by the Greek diphthong OY, it is in the first place taken for granted, that Dionysius has *usually* represented the Latin V by the Greek OY. But this is so far from being true, that Dionysius himself has represented even the *vowel* V in six different ways. He expresses *Numa* by Νοῦμας, but *Numitor* by Νομίτωρ, and *Numicius* by Νομίκιος: *Tullius* he expresses by Τούλλιος, but *Tullus* by Τύλλος: *Amulius* by Ἀμούλιος, but *Romulus* by Ῥωμύλος, and *Turnus* by Τύρνος: *Lucius* he expresses by Λεύκιος, *Siculus* by Σικέλος, and *Auruncus* by Αὐρώγκος. All these examples

I have selected from that very book (namely the first) of his *Antiquitates Romanæ*, in which he expresses *Velia* by *Ουέλια*. Now this diversity, in the mode of representing the Latin V in Greek, is alone sufficient to destroy the argument, which is founded on the supposed *custom* of the Greeks (the *consuetudo* Græcorum, as expressed in the preceding quotation²⁶) to represent the Latin V by the Greek OY. If it were true, that the Greeks *generally* expressed the Latin V by the Greek OY, and it were further true, that the Latin V corresponded to the Greek F, we might fairly argue to a correspondence between F and OY. But if it is *not* true, that the Greeks generally represented the Latin V by the Greek OY, the inference, that the Greek OY corresponds to the Greek F, would be false, even were it true, that the Greek F corresponded to the Latin V. Now we have seen that Dionysius himself, who is the main spring of the argument, is so far from having *generally* represented the Latin V by the Greek OY, that he has represented it also by E, by O, by Y, by Ω, and by EY. If therefore we may argue to the correspondence between F and OY, because Dionysius *some* times represents the Latin V by OY, we may with

(26.) See above p. 109.

equal reason argue from his representation of it at *other* times, which will lead us to the absurdity of making the Greek consonant F equivalent not only to OY, but also to E, to O, to Y, to Ω, and to EY.

But as V in *Velia* is a *consonant*, let us lay aside all consideration of V as a vowel, and consider in what manner the Greeks represented it in reference to the former quality alone. Indeed the three proper names, which are given in the preceding quotations namely Σεουρος for *Severus*, Ουρος for *Verus*, and Ουαρρον for *Varro*, have reference to V as a consonant in particular. But here again the same question occurs as before, namely; Was it the *general* practice, was it the *consuetudo Græcorum*, to represent the Latin consonant V by the Greek diphthong OY? And this question we must *again* answer in the negative. I have read many Greek authors, and have examined many Greek inscriptions, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner the Greeks represented the Latin consonant V; and I have found on the whole, that it is *most* frequently represented by the Greek consonant B. The argument therefore to the correspondence between F and OY, which is founded on the supposition, that OY was *generally* used to express the consonant V, falls at once to the ground.

Let us examine however the *examples*, which are alleged in favour of Dionysius. The first example is Σεουηρος for *Severus*. Now it is certainly true, that *Severus* is frequently expressed in Greek by Σεουηρος: but then it is equally true, that this name is expressed at other times by Σεβηρος. Greek inscriptions, coeval with the Emperor Severus himself are still extant, on coins and on marbles, in which we find ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ²⁷. The second example Ουηρος was likewise at other times written Βηρος, as again appears from ancient inscriptions²⁸. Among the Greek *authors*, who have expressed Latin names in Greek characters, there are few which supply us with more examples,

(27.) For an example on coins, see Pellerin *Mélange de diverses medailles*, Tom. II. p. 181. and Pl. XXX. No. 5. where Severus is expressed by CEBHPOC. See also p. 207. 208, where CEBHPA occurs on four different coins of Otacilia Severa. For an example on marbles, see Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 81. Inscript. CXXXVI, where we find CEBIIPOY for Severi.

(28.) See again Pellerin *Mélange de diverses medailles*, Tom. II. p. 86. and 127, where we find Verus expressed in both places by BHPOC. See also p. 50. where Nerva is expressed by NEPBAC. For examples on marbles, see Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, where we find AYΦAIOY BHPOY for *Aurelii Veri*. At p. 19. we find ΦAABIOY for *Flavii*: at p. 60. BAAEPIOY for *Valerii*: and at p. 64. BIKTOPEINOY for *Victorini*. Other examples may be seen in Muratori *Novus Thesaurus veterum Inscriptionum*, Tom. I. p. 134. 160.

than Procopius, and Syncellus. Procopius, in his work *De Bello Gothico*, and in his treatise *De Ædificiis*, has frequent occasion to introduce the name of *Verus*, and, as far as I have observed, he always writes ΒΗΡΟΣ²⁹. In like manner he expresses *Valerianus* by Βαλεριανος, *Valentinianus* by Βαλεντινιανος, *Vitalinus* by Βιταλινος, *Vigilius* by Βιγυλιος, *Silverius* by Σιλβεριος, *Veneti* by Βενετοι, *Ravenna* by Ραβεννα, &c. &c.³⁰. In like manner again Syncellus expresses *Virgilius* by Βιργυλιος, *Livius* by Λιβιος, *Victor* by Βικτωρ, *Silvius* by Σιλβιος, *Vitellius* by Βιτελλιος &c.³¹. With respect to the word *Severus*, which is the first of the examples quoted in favour of Dionysius, I have never found that he has expressed it by Σεουηρος. He expresses it uniformly by Σεηρος³².

(29.) See for instance *Bell. Goth.* Lib. III. cap. 27. 37 : and *De Ædificiis*, Lib. IV. cap. 11.

(30.) *Bell. Goth.* Lib. I. c. 15. 18. 25. Lib. II. c. 7. 29. See also his *Historia Arcana*. Cap. 1. 2. 6. 7. 27. In some few cases indeed we find OY for V : but they are so very few in comparison of those, where B is used, that we may attribute this anomaly to the transcribers of Procopius, rather than to Procopius himself.

(31.) See his *Chronographia*, p. 211. 318. 341. 354. 355. ed. Goar, Paris, 1655. fol. It is true also of Syncellus, that he sometimes uses OY for the Latin V : but they bear no proportion to the examples of the other kind.

(32.) See his *Chronographia*, p. 355. 356.

But on *this* orthography I make no observations at present, as it will be examined particularly in the sequel. Procopius expresses *Severus* by ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ³³. If an objection be made to Procopius and Syncellus as being *late* Greek writers, we may appeal to Plutarch, who frequently uses B to express the Latin V. For instance *Publius Varinus* he expresses by Πουπλιος Βαρινος. *Vacca* (the name of a town) by Βαγα, and the inhabitants Βακκαιοι. *Velabrum* (a place in Rome near mount Aventine) he expresses by Βηλαυρον³⁴. And the city *Veii* he has uniformly expressed by Βηιοι³⁵. Here the representation of *Veii* by Βηιοι may be fairly opposed to the representation of *Velia* by Ουελια. If the circumstance, that Dionysius expresses *Velia* by Ουελια affords an argument for the opinion, that F was pronounced like OY, the circumstance, that Plutarch expresses *Veii* by Βηιοι, affords just as good a proof, that F was pronounced like B. And (what is still more to the purpose) Stephanus Byzantinus, expresses the very name *Velia* by Βελια³⁶.

(33.) See his treatise *De Ædificiis*. Lib. IV. cap. 4.

(34.) Plutarchi Op. Tom. I. p. 19. 409. 548. 579. ed. Xylander.

(35.) Ib. p. 129, 130.

(36.) P. 338. ed. Berkel: where it is observed in the Note, *In hac voce remanserunt vestigia nominis Velix: nam Βητρα hoc loco tanquam V pronuntiandum est.*

It is true, that Plutarch has on many other occasions expressed the Latin V by OY, for he is not consistent on this point. And it is remarkable that the word *Varro*, which is the third example, he has represented at one time by *Ovappov*, at another time by *Bappov*³⁷. The fact is, that even in the time of Plutarch the Greeks *partially* pronounced B like V: and this pronunciation gradually spread, till it became universal among the Greeks. Now they who *generally* pronounced the Greek B like the Latin consonant V, had no difficulty in finding for it a Greek *substitute*. They, on the other hand, to whom this pronunciation of B was *less* familiar, felt themselves frequently constrained to express the Latin *consonant* V in the same manner, as they expressed the Latin *vowel* V. And they met with less difficulty in using the *same representation* of V, whether a vowel or a consonant, as it always appeared under the *same form*³⁸.

(37.) Tom. I. p. 24. 725.

(38.) That the same form was used for V, whether a vowel or a consonant, in the time of Dionysius, appears not only from ancient Latin inscriptions, but also from the manuscripts, which have been lately discovered at Herculaneum, of which a facsimile is given in the plates annexed to the second volume of the work entitled *Herculaneusium Voluminum quæ supersunt*.

Having thus shewn how it happened, that Greek writers frequently used the diphthong OY to express even the *consonant* V, and likewise shewn, that the Greek B is, to say the *least* of it, as good a substitute as OY, for the Latin V³⁹, I will now consider what was the *best* representation of it; that is, in what manner *Velia* might have been expressed in Greek letters more correctly, than either by *Oυελια*, or by *Βελια*. We have already seen that *Velia* was derived from *ελος*, which according to *one* ancient form was HEAOΣ, according to *another* FEAOΣ. Hence says Pliny, (Hist. Nat. Lib. III. cap. 5.) Oppidum HELIA quæ nunc VELIA. But since the plural of FEAOΣ was FEAEA, the most *correct* mode of writing is VELEA with an E; and we have already seen that Stephanus Byzantinus writes BEAEA. When the Greek inhabitants of this town laid aside F, they

(39.) Varro, in the fifth book of his Treatise *De lingua Latina*, (p. 45. ed. Var.) speaking of the Latin word VER, says, *Ionæ dicunt* BHP. Now as VER is itself of Greek origin, being derived from *ἦρ* with the Digamma, the circumstance, that the Ionians wrote BHP leads to no conclusion about the manner, in which the Ionians pronounced the Latin V. But since the Ionian form BHP must have arisen out of the Æolic form FHP, as well as the Latin VER, it shews that the Greek Β must have come *nearer* in sound to the Greek F, than the diphthong OY could have done.

supplied its place by the Greek **V**, and wrote **VEAEA**. This is not mere conjecture: it will be presently proved by irrefragable documents. That the Greek **V** was sometimes substituted for the Greek **F**, especially before the vowel **E**, when **F** acquired a softer sound, and on the same principle on which **F** in *Latin* was exchanged for **V**, we may argue from **ΣΙΓΕVΕVΣΙ** in the Sigeian inscription. For that the Greek **V** was occasionally used as a *consonant*, equally with the Latin **V**, can admit of no doubt. The words *αυαταυ* and *αυιαχος* quoted above in Ch. III. Note 6, are examples in which the Greek **V** can be pronounced only as a consonant. When Plutarch expresses Velabrum by *Βηλαυρον*, the Greek *v* must be a consonant, or it would be no representation of the Latin **B**⁴⁰. Nor can we pronounce it otherwise than as a consonant, in such words as *Δαυιδ*, *Λευι*, *Ευα*, &c. Indeed we have various examples of the Greek **V** being *substituted* for the Latin **V**, where the Latin **V** is a consonant. Diodorus Siculus (Lib. XII. cap. 24.) expresses *Aventinus* by *Αυεντινος*. Syncellus

(40.) We may account for the substitution of the Greek **V** for the Latin **B**, since **B** and **V** were sometimes confounded in Latin, as well as in Greek. Muratori, in his *Novus Thesaurus veterum inscriptionum*, Tom. I. p. 479. has given a Latin inscription, in which **REBOCA** is engraved for **REVOCA**, and **IN BIA LATA** for **IN VIA LATA**.

(Chronog. p. 354.) expresses *Helvius* by Ἑλβιος. With respect to the name *Severus*, which is one of the examples alleged in favour of Dionysius, it has been already shewn, that Syncellus expresses *Severus* repeatedly and uniformly by Σεῦρος. Pænius, in his Greek translation of Eutropius, does the same⁴¹. And, what is still more important, Greek coins, struck in the reign of the Emperor *Severus*, are still extant, in which the Latin V is expressed by the Greek V, though with the later form of it Υ⁴².

(41.) See for instance Lib. VIII. cap. 9, 10.

(42.) Pellerin, in the work already quoted, has given not less than *fourteen* examples of inscriptions on Greek coins, in which the *Latin V* in SEVERVS is represented by the Greek V, or (which is the same thing) the Greek Υ. For whatever *shape* the Greek V may assume, it *must* be a consonant in such words as *Verus*, and *Severus*, or they would not have been represented at other times by Βηρος and Σεβηρος. *Nerva*, which is sometimes expressed by ΝΕΡΒΑΣ, is at other times expressed by ΝΕΡΥΑΣ, where Υ is necessarily a consonant, as well as Β. See Pellerin *Melange*, T. II. p. 52. The pages, where Pellerin gives the inscriptions of coins with CEYHPOC, are p. 115. 117. 122—126. 137. 144. 182—184. The four last only, are coins of *Alexander Severus*; the rest are coins of *Septimius Severus*. These coins were struck in different Greek cities of the Roman Empire, during their respective reigns; and the name of the city is expressed on the reverse. Musellius, in his *Numismata Antiqua*, Tab. CLII. has given impressions of four more coins with the inscription CEYHPOC. There are
Greek

But to return to the city in question. When the name of this city was written VEAEA, the proper name for the inhabitants was VEAEATAI; and, when H was become a long vowel, VEAEATAI was contracted into VEAHTAI, as VEAEA itself was contracted into VEAH. Now there are coins of Velia still extant, of which the inscriptions accord with the orthography here described. It is well known, that on the coins of Greek cities the name of the *people* is expressed, and in the genitive plural. The coins of VEAEA therefore must have had the inscription VEAHTΩN, or (when the V had acquired its later form) YEAHTΩN. Now Goltz, in his *Historiæ urbium et populorum Græciæ, ex antiquis numismatibus Liber primus*, has given impressions of not less than *ten* gold and silver coins of Velia, with the inscription YEAHTΩN⁴³. In Dr. Hunter's Museum are preserved *six* other coins of Velia, likewise with the inscription YEAHTΩN⁴⁴. Another coin with the same inscription is exhibited by Paruta in his *Sicilia Numismatica*⁴⁵. Musellius

Greek coins likewise of Aquilia Severa, the wife of Heliogabalus; of Otacilia Severa; and of Hadriana Severiana, on which V is expressed by Y. See Pellerin, *Ib.* p. 129. 168. 176. 181. 208.

(43.) See Pl. XXII.

(44.) See Pl. LXIV. of Dr. Combe's *Nummorum veterum populorum, etc.*

(45.) Tab. CCXXXII. Num. 180.

in the 20th plate of his *Numismata Antiqua*, has given four more. Ten coins, with the inscription YEAHTON, are preserved also in the cabinet of the King of Prussia, impressions of which may be seen in the first volume of Beger's *Thesaurus Brandeburgicus*⁴⁶. Here then we have proof positive, that the inhabitants themselves expressed the name of their city, not by *Ουελια*, but by *Βελια*. Whether these coins were struck at the *same* Velia, which is meant by Dionysius, is a question of no importance. We are at present concerned only with the *name*, not with the *situation* of the place. The Velia, of which Dionysius speaks, may have been a place near the Tiber; the Velia, where these coins were struck, may have been Velia in *Lucania*; we have in either case a proof, that the Greek consonant *Υ*, and not the Greek diphthong *ΟΥ*, was the proper representative of the Latin consonant *V*. This is likewise agreeable to the *original* relation of the Greek *Υ* to the Latin *V*, as described

(46.) P. 344. I have thought it the more necessary to support the authority of Goltz, by an appeal to the coins preserved in other cabinets, because his authority has been questioned. But Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Essay on Medals* (Pref. p. XV. 3d ed.) says, "I scruple not to recommend Goltzius, though all his works have many coins not yet found in cabinets, his own being unfortunately lost; because medals, which he describes, and which were looked upon as fictitious, are yearly found *existent, and of undoubted antiquity.*"

at the beginning of this Chapter. Even Dionysius frequently expresses the Latin V by the Greek ν . He not only expresses Romulus by Ρωμυλος , where the ν is short; but also *Tullus* by Τυλλος , and *Turnus* by Τυρνος ; where the ν is at least long by position.

If further proof were wanted, that Velia was expressed in Greek by Vελεα , we might appeal both to Herodotus and to Strabo. The former, speaking of a colony of Phocians, going first to Rhegium and then to Velia in Οενωτρία (the ancient name of Lucania) describes the expedition in the following words. $\text{Οι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεώμενοι, ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν ΥΕΛΗ καλεῖται}$ ⁴⁷. Here the word ΥΕΛΗ is a contraction for ΥΕΛΕΑ , or (as written according to the ancient form) VΕΛΕΑ . The *transcribers* indeed of Herodotus, agreeably to the practice of aspirating *appellatives* which begin with Υ , have aspirated the Υ in ΥΕΛΗ , so that it now appears in the form of Υέλη , as if Herodotus had meant a place called *Hyela*, though no such place ever existed in Lucania. In Casaubon's edition of Strabo, we find at p. 252. Υέλη without the aspirate; and

(47.) Lib. I. cap. 167.

Casaubon in his Note at p. 119. considers it as a representation of *Velia*. And that Strabo really meant *Velia* in Lucania appears from what he himself says in the same place. He not only describes it as being in Lucania, but says, *οἱ δὲ νῦν ΕΛΕΑΝ ὀνομάζουσι*. Now *Velia* in Lucania really had acquired the name of *ELEA* in the time of Strabo. It is so called by Cicero *De Natura Deorum*, Lib. III. cap. 33. There cannot be a doubt therefore that *YEAH* both in Herodotus and in Strabo is a contraction of *YEAEA*, and the Greek name of the city which was called in Latin *Velia*.

It has now been proved by irrefragable document, that *OYEAIA* is a *false* representation of the name in question. The conclusions therefore must be likewise false, which are drawn from the supposition of its correctness. Indeed a more unfortunate example could not have been selected, as a criterion of Greek *pronunciation*: for there never was a word, which has appeared in such a *variety of shapes*. In ancient times there were three different forms, *HEAEA*, *FEAEA*, and *VEAEA*, all of which, under different circumstances, might be considered as correct. But then these three forms have given rise to a dozen other forms. *HEAEA* gave rise, first to *'Ελεα*, then to *'Ελεα*, and thus to the Latin *Elea*. When *H* was become a long vowel in Greek,

VEΛEA was contracted into VEAH, which, according to the modern orthography, being written Ὑελη, gave rise to *Hyela*. Again, from FEAEA, or rather perhaps VEAEA, came the Latin VELIA. And later Greek writers, from Dionysius downward, who lived when Greek had *ceased* to be spoken at Velia, never thought of restoring the *real* Greek name by consulting coins and other documents, but contented themselves with translating into Greek the *Latin* name. And as they gave their *own* translation, some translated one way, others another. Hence some wrote BEAIA or BEAEA, others OYEAIA. And *these* forms again gave rise to various others. Βελεα was contracted into Βελη, and by degrees corrupted into Βυλη. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Βύλη says Stephanus Byzantinus, under the article Ἐλέα, πόλις Ἰταλίας⁴⁸. And there it is, that he adds, ἡ νῦν Βελέα. Nor was OYEAIA without its variations. For, O being mistaken for Θ, OYEAIA produced ΘYEAIA and ΘYEΛΛA. Hence Stephanus Byzantinus very gravely says at p. 403. ΘYEΛΛA, πόλις Οἰωνορίας.

IV.

It must be admitted however in favour of Dionysius, that, if he has led critics into error by his attempt

(48.) P. 338.

to explain the sound of the Digamma in Ch. 20, he has afforded them the means of *correcting* that error in the chapter, which immediately follows. In this chapter he relates, that the Pelasgi race was not extinct even in *his* time, but that some sparks of them (*Ζώπυρα τοῦ Πελαγικοῦ γένους,*) still remained at Falerii and Fescennia, two cities nearly opposite to each other on the banks of the Tiber, and situate in the southern part of the ancient kingdom of Etruria. He further says in the same chapter, that they built the temple of Juno at *Falerii*. Since then *Falerii* and *Fescennia* were cities once occupied by the Pelasgi, who used the Greek F, the *names* of those cities, as written by the Pelasgi, must have begun with F. Indeed there are coins still extant of the former place, struck at that early age when the Digamma was still in use. In the twenty-seventh plate of Dr. Combe's Hunterian Museum, No. 21. 22, are impressions of two silver coins with the inscription FAAEIQN. Impressions of other coins with the same inscription are given by Goltz, Pl. 35. and 36. Another coin, with the inscription FAAEIQN is given by Pellerin, Tom. I. Pl. X. of his *Recueil de Medailles de Peuples et de Villes*. Another coin with the inscription FA is given by Eckhel in his *Nummi veteres anecdoti* (Viennæ 1775. 4to.) Pl. I. No. 7: and Eckhel at p. 9. refers it to

Falerii in *Etruria*. No. 17. 18. 19. in the 27th plate of the Hunterian Museum are silver coins of this city sufficiently ancient to have the inscription FA, which is the whole of *their* inscription from right to left.

The opinion, that the coins above quoted, with the inscriptions FA and FAΛEIQN, belong to *Falerii* or *Falisci* (for the word is written both ways) though hitherto very generally entertained, and adopted by Dr. Combe himself at p. 143, has been lately indeed *questioned*, in consequence of many *other* coins, with the same inscription FAΛEIQN, having been discovered within these ten years in the western part of Peloponnesus. And it must be granted, that coins discovered in Peloponnesus cannot have been coins of a city on the Tiber, not far distant from Rome. These *Peloponnesian* coins the author of the *Museum Sanclementianum*, published at Rome in 1808, supposes with Sestini, to have been struck at *Alea*, a city of Arcadia, mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat. IV. 6. But the Elean inscription shews, that they must have been struck at *Elis*. The name of the Eleans is on that inscription FAΛEIQI for Ἠλεῖοι, of which the genitive FAΛEIQN is the very word, which appears on the coins. That Ἠλεῖοι denotes the inhabitants of

Elis we know also from Thucydides, who always calls them by that name⁴⁹: whereas the inhabitants of *Alea* (in Greek Ἀλέα) were called Ἀλεοί, and Ἀλεάται⁵⁰. But shall we therefore conclude that *none* of the coins with the inscription FAΛEIQN were struck at *Falerii*. or *Falisci* in Italy? If *all* the coins with this inscription were brought from Peloponnesus, how could the notion have *originated*, that they were coins of a city in Italy? And that this really *was* the common opinion, appears from what Spanheim says, *De usu et præstantiâ Numismatum*, Tom. I. p. 107, 108. We may fairly presume therefore, that *some* of the coins with the inscriptions FA and FAΛEIQN, described by Goltz, Spanheim, Pellerin, Eckhel, and Combe, were found in Italy. And the author of the *Museum Sanclementianum*, in the chapter beginning at p. 125. where he describes the coins with this inscription, says, that he himself is in possession of one, which was found *in the neighbourhood of Rome*⁵¹. Now if

(49.) See for instance Lib. II. c. 25. Lib. V. c. 31.

(50.) Stephanus de Urbibus, s. v. Ἀλέα, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας. There are also coins of this city still extant with the inscription AΛEIQN, as appears from Pellerin *Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes*, Tom. I. Pl. xxi. No. 8. and Beger's *Thes. Brand.* T. I. p. 344.

(51.) I have not seen the *Museum Sanclementianum* itself: but I quote it on the authority of a very respectable Reviewer, who has given a detailed account of it in the *Leipziger Literatur Zeitung*, for May 1813.

coins, found on the banks of the Alpheus, could not have belonged to a city on the Tiber, for the same reason the coins, which were found on the banks of the Tiber, could not have belonged to a city in Peloponnesus. Nor is there any improbability in the opinion, however strange it may appear at the first view of it, that the coins of *Elis*, and the coins of *Falerii* or *Falisci* should have the same inscription. The Pelasgi in Peloponnesus, as appears from the Elean inscription, must have expressed the name of that city by ΦΑΛΙΣ, which the Ionians and Athenians *afterwards* wrote Ἑλις. That a colony of Pelasgi from Peloponnesus, under Evander, settled on the banks of the Tiber, is well known: and nothing is more common, than for colonists to name cities in their new settlements after the names of cities, from which they came. The Pelasgi therefore might give the name of ΦΑΛΙΣ to one of their settlements on the Tiber. Hence the people of that city were called by the Latins *Falisci*, according to the same form as *Osci*, *Volsci*, *Tusci*, &c. Again, the *Greek* name for the people being ΦΑΛΕΙΟΙ, it was written in Latin *Falīi*, with the accent necessarily on the *é*, and each *i* forming a separate syllable. Here then was such an hiatus, as required the insertion of *r* to remedy it⁵². Hence arose *Falerii*, expressed

(52.) In like manner, *Μουσάων* became *MusaRum*: and *Φαός*, *FīLius*.

afterwards in Greek letters by Φαλέριοι: and thus both *Falerii* and *Falisci* became names of the same place. We see then that the Pelasgi, who settled at the place, which the Latins afterwards called *Falerii* and *Falisci*, would put on their coins the same inscription, FAÆIΩN, which was used at Elis in Peloponnesus. And the correspondence between FALISCVS and FAΔΙΣ, as well as between FALERII and FAÆIΩI, tends to confirm the analogy of the Latin F to the Greek F.

But even were it true, that *none* of the coins with the inscriptions FA and FAÆIΩN were struck at Falerii on the Tiber, we should only lose their *additional* evidence, that the name was originally written in Greek with F. For the simple fact, stated by Dionysius, that this city was once occupied by the *Pelasgi*, is alone sufficient to prove it. And since the name of that city was likewise written in *Latin* with F, the correspondence of the *Greek F* to the *Latin F* is confirmed by Dionysius himself. With respect to *Fescennia* we may draw the ~~same~~ conclusion; though no coins have been hitherto discovered, which belonged to that city. But we have coins of *Fæsulæ*, another city of Etruria, and likewise once occupied by the Pelasgi. One of these coins is preserved in the Hunterian Museum, and represented by Dr. Combe, Pl. 27.

No. 15. In the name of this city only the first syllable is there expressed, agreeably to the common practice of curtailing names on Greek coins. But it is expressed by FAI, and with the letters from *right to left*. The city Formiæ must likewise have been written by the Pelasgi FOPMIAI. For Pliny says of Formiæ (Hist. Nat. Lib. III. cap. 5.) *Hormiæ* dictum: and it was so called from ὄρμος *statio navalis*, as being a sea-port. According therefore to the Æolic dialect, it must have been written FOPMIAI: and this inference is confirmed by the very circumstance, that the Latins wrote it FORMIÆ. Here then we have *four* cities of Italy, *Falerii*, *Fescennia*, *Fesulæ*, and *Formiæ*, all of which were written with the *Greek F*, and for all of which was substituted the *Latin F*. Are not these four cities then sufficient to outweigh the conversion of *Fέλια* into *Velia*⁵³?

(53.) I have selected the names of the four cities, *Falerii*, *Fescennia*, *Formiæ*, and *Fesulæ*, as examples of words, which must have been written, as well with **F** in Greek, as with **F** in Latin, because the two first are mentioned by Dionysius as *Pelasgic* towns, while the third is represented as such by Pliny, and the coins with the inscription **FAI** are unquestionably coins of the fourth. But the same reasoning applies to the name of *every* town beginning in Latin with *F*, whether in Etruria, or in Latium, or in any other part of Italy, which was occupied by Æolian Greeks. For all such names must have been originally written also in *Greek* with **F**. All such examples therefore, of which there are many, may be added to the list of words, which

was

And how does Dionysius express the names of *these* four towns? Does he *there* also express the consonant F by the diphthong OY, as he did in the case of *Velia*? Quite the contrary. He expresses it by the consonant Φ, of which the affinity to the Greek F has been already shewn. In the very chapter, (Lib. I. c. 21.) where he mentions *Faleriū* and *Fescennia* as towns occupied by the Pelasgi, and consequently as towns of which he must have *known*, that the names had been written with F, he substitutes not OY but Φ. After all then, the representations of Dionysius tend rather to *confirm* the inference, that the Greek F corresponded to the Latin F, as well in sound, as in form and order.

V.

There remains only one more notion, which it is necessary to confute, in order to vindicate to the Greek F its genuine pronunciation. I am aware, that I have to combat a very common opinion, when I deny, that the Greek F was pronounced like the English W. It is however an opinion so improbable even *in itself*, and independently of the arguments, which may be alleged against it,

was given in p. 95, 96, 97. Here likewise may be added the coin, with the inscription ΦΑΣΤ, of which Goltz has given an impression in his *Græciæ ejusque insularum Numismata*, Tab. XVII. though the place, to which it belongs, is uncertain.

that we may justly wonder, how such a notion could prevail. The mere circumstance, that the Æolians used it before P, shews that they could not have pronounced it, as the English pronounce W. That the Æolians *did* begin many of their words with FP appears from the examples, which have been already given of *Latin* words beginning with FR which have Greek words corresponding to them *now* beginning with an aspirated 'P. And the *existence* of such words has been lately placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the word FPATPA on the Elean tablet. If in this word we pronounce the *Greek* F like the *Latin* F, as in FRATER, we produce a sound in which there is nothing harsh, or inharmonious. But, if giving to the Greek F the broad and coarse sound of the English W, we pronounce FPATPA as an Englishman would pronounce WRATRA, we produce a sound so offensive to the ear, that no *Greek* could have endured it. Nor must we forget, that the Æolians who alone retained the use of F, were noted *in particular* for their aversion to all harsh sounds. The very tablet, on which FPATPA occurs, affords a proof of this assertion. Though we know that the other Greeks anciently wrote HEKATON, we find in this inscription EKATON without an aspirate. The very article before FPATPA is also without an aspirate. We find

not HA FPATPA but A FPATPA. And in the *relative* the aspirate is avoided by the substitution of T for H. The nominative plural *oi* is on the Elean tablet not HOI, but TOI. Nor is the connexion of F with P the *only* case, in which its pronunciation like W would be intolerable. Indeed if the Æolians suppressed the aspirate in HEKATON, it is incredible that they should have pronounced EKATON FETEA in the Elean inscription, as an Englishman would pronounce EKATON WETEA.

But let us consider the *grounds*, on which the opinion rests, that the Greek F was pronounced like the English W. It rests either on the representation of Dionysius, or on the representation of the Latin grammarians. They, who argue from the former, argue thus. The Greek F was pronounced like the Greek OY: the Greek OY was pronounced like the French ou: the French ou is equivalent to the English W: *ergo*, the Greek F and the English W have one and the same pronunciation. This mode of reasoning is adopted by the learned editor of Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*⁵⁴. But as the first term of this Sorites has been

(54.) P. 422.

already proved to be incorrect, it is unnecessary to inquire into the accuracy of those which follow.

Dawes, who very properly rejects the argument from OY, comes however to the same conclusion by the aid of the Latin V. Assuming on the authority of the Latin grammarians, that the Greek F corresponded to the Latin V, and taking for *granted*, that the Latin V was pronounced like the English W, he concludes at once, that the Greek F had the *same* pronunciation: and even substitutes that unsightly figure W (unsightly at least in Greek) for the genuine form F. Now since the first step also of *this* argument has been already shewn to be erroneous, the question whether the Greek F was pronounced like the English W, does not depend on the question whether the Latin V was so pronounced.

An inquiry therefore into the manner, in which the Romans pronounced their V, may appear foreign to the question, how the Greeks pronounced their F. Let us ask, however, on what *authority* the opinion rests, that the Latin V was pronounced like the English W. Dawes himself quotes *no* authority. He merely says, p. 121. Cæterum et illud monendi veniunt *nonnulli*, Romanorum V, cum pro consonante scriberetur, non jam eidem apud nos ele-

mento, sed altero isti *W* respondere. But who are these anonymous *nonnulli*? They cannot be the *old* Latin grammarians, whom he had just quoted: for *they* could not know, how *we* should pronounce our *W*, and consequently could not compare with it any letter of their *own* alphabet. That the Latin *V* was *sometimes* pronounced like the English *W*, is by no means impossible. Every language has its provincialisms: and I have heard boys at school, who came from places where *W* and *V* were confounded, pronounce a well known line of *As in præsentî*, in the following manner:

WO FIT WI, UT WOLWO WOLWI, WIWO EXCIPE WIXI.

But can we suppose, that this coarse and broad dialect was the dialect of Cicero? Or shall we conclude, that he pronounced *Winum*, because the English say *Wine*? Shall we not rather suppose that the Italian *vino* is a better representative of the Latin *vino*? Even the Germans, who have likewise borrowed their word *Wein* from the Latin, do not *pronounce* it as we do, but pronounce it as we pronounce the word *Vine*⁵⁵. In the Italian and Spanish alphabets, the letter does not exist. The

(55.) Though I have lived twelve years in Saxony, where German is spoken the most correctly, and have had intercourse with Saxons ever since, I have *never* heard the German *W* pronounced like the English *W*.

French employ it only in some few proper names ; but they *pronounce* it like their own and like the English V. For instance, *Wailly* they pronounce as if it were written *Vailly*. In the German language, W is as common as in English : but then, as already observed, it is *pronounced* like the English V. It is therefore not very probable that Cicero pronounced *Vinum* as broad as the English pronounce *Wine*. Nor must we forget, that if in such words as *Wine* and *Wind* we use W where the Romans used V, we use V for V in *ten* times as many examples. The words *Vacant*, *Vapor*, *Vague*, *Vanity*, *Virtue*, *Various*, *Vain*, with twenty more, which might be mentioned, are derived from words beginning with V in Latin. Even therefore if we argued from the analogy of our *own* language, we should conclude, that the Latin V was not pronounced like our W. And if we argue from the analogy of *other* languages, which have borrowed from the Latin, we can draw no other conclusion, than that the opinion, which ascribes to the Latin V the sound of the *English* W, is really devoid of foundation.

Let us consider however whether any *reason* can be given for the opinion, that the Latin V was pronounced like the English W. Now the only reason, which I have been able to discover, is the

reason, which was examined in the preceding section, namely, that V in Latin was expressed by OY in Greek. This is the foundation, and as far as I have been able to discover, the *sole* foundation, on which the opinion rests. From the supposed general correspondence of the Latin V to the Greek OY, aided by the *additional* supposition, that the Greek OY was pronounced like the English W, it has been *inferred*, that the Latin V was likewise pronounced like the English W. But we have already seen, that the Greek OY was not *generally* used even for the *vowel* V, and much less for the *consonant* V. We have already seen that Latin names beginning with V, are expressed in Greek by B as frequently, as they are by OY. We have moreover seen, that even the *Greek* V was not unfrequently used to express the *Latin* V, when the Latin V was a *consonant*. And it has been proved, that this mode of expression was the most *correct*. And even if we had to choose between B and OY, as Greek representatives of the Latin V when used as a consonant, the preference would unquestionably be due to the former. When the Greeks expressed the Latin V by their own B, it was in consequence of the Greek B having acquired the sound of V. The modern Greeks would pronounce the Latin *Velia* and the Greek Βελια precisely in the same manner. And

that this pronunciation is not *very* modern, appears from the circumstance, that in MSS. of the Greek Testament we find *David* indifferently written $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\delta$ and $\Delta\alpha\beta\upsilon\delta$. Even in the time of Plutarch the Greek B must have been *sometimes* pronounced like V, or Plutarch could not have expressed *Veii* by Βηιοι. To the Greeks then, who pronounced their B in this manner, B *exactly* represented the sound of the Latin consonant V. But they, who did *not* pronounce the Greek B like V, had no such resource. They had recourse therefore to a very *imperfect* substitution; and as a matter of necessity used the diphthong OY for the *consonant* V, as well as for the *vowel* V. But such a *necessitous* substitution can surely afford no clue to a *correct* pronunciation of the Latin V. Besides, if the Latin V had been pronounced like the English W, it never could have been exchanged for the Latin B. For no one will pretend that *this* Letter was pronounced like the English W. An example of BIA for VIA and of REBOCA for REVOCA has been already quoted from Muratori, in Note 40. Two more inscriptions, with the same mistake, are given by Muratori in the same page. Gori, in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ, Tom. I. p. 172. Inscript. 147.* has given an inscription with OCTABIANO for Octaviano. Still more examples are given by Fabretti in his *Inscriptiones*

Antiquæ. At p. 102. Inscript. 235. we find PRIMITIBA for Primitiva: in the same page, Inscript. 238, we find BOBIS for Vobis, and VNIBERSIS for Universis. Again, at p. 274. Inscript. 154. we find BICTORIA for Victoria. And (what deserves particular notice) in the same inscription, at p. 102. where B is twice substituted for V, we find two other examples of V substituted for B. For *Jubeo* is engraved IVVEO, and *Cubiculo* CVVICVLO. In like manner Gudius, in his *Antiquæ Inscriptiones*, gives at p. 365. an example of MIRAVILI for *Mirabili*; but in the same page an example of IVBENIS for *Juvenis*, and at p. 367. of BIXIT for *Viris*. Now it is wholly impossible, that B and V should have been thus mutually exchanged, if the latter had been pronounced like the English W. And this argument, if it were necessary, would receive *additional* weight from the circumstance, that the Latin V, which is sometimes exchanged for the Latin B, is at other times exchanged for the Latin F. Gruter, in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 643. Inscript. 6. (ed. Scaliger) has given an inscription, in which FICTORIA twice occurs for Victoria, and FICTORIO twice for Victorio. At p. 757. Inscript. 9. we find FARVS for Varus. And at p. 886. Inscript. 15. FICTORIANVS twice occurs for Victorianus. But surely if the sound of our English W were the same with the sound of the

Latin V, the Latin V could never have found a substitute in the Latin F. On the other hand, if we suppose, that the Latin V was pronounced like our English V, nothing was more easy than an exchange for F. Nor is it difficult to explain its exchange for B, provided we reject the opinion, that it was pronounced like our W. For the Spanish V, which is certainly *not* pronounced like our W, is frequently exchanged for B both in speaking and in writing.

Lastly, that the Latin V was pronounced, not like the English W, but like the English V, is an opinion conformable with that of Gerard Vossius, one of the most eminent among the Latin grammarians since the revival of learning; though by a strange fatality, a passage in his treatise *De Arte Grammaticá*, has contributed more, than any other cause, to propagate in *England* the contrary opinion. In his treatise *De Arte Grammaticá*, *Lib. I. c. 24.* he cautions his readers against pronouncing F and V in the same manner: and he thus argues, that they had a different sound: *aliter F, aliter V, sonare argumentó sunt voces in quibus utraque occurrit, ut vafer, faveo, fovea, fulvus, et similes.* Now if Gerard Vossius had been writing for *English* readers, this caution would have been unnecessary: for it is not *usual* at least in this

country to pronounce V like F. But it is a *rule* in the German language to pronounce V like F⁵⁶; their W, being the letter, which has the sound of the English V. Hence the Germans pronounce

(56.) I am here speaking with reference to the *High German*, the language of *Gerard Vossius*, who was a native of *Heidelberg*: for in the *Low German*, which is spoken in Lower Saxony, and other parts of Northern Germany, the V has a softer sound. And the soft sound of the V in Low German has had some influence on the pronunciation even of the High German in those parts, where Low German was *formerly* spoken. Thus in the Electorate of Hanover, Low German, though it is now spoken only by the peasants, was once the *general* language; and so it remained, till after the time of Luther, when the High German became the language of literature, and was therefore adopted by men of education, even where Low German had been previously spoken. But hence arose a *mixture* of pronunciation; and the High German has lost in the North of Germany somewhat of that hardness, which it has ever retained in the middle and South of Germany, where it was *always* spoken. Hence the German V, which is pronounced as F at Dresden, Leipzig, and Wittenberg, is pronounced with a softer sound at Hanover. But Adelung, the great German grammarian, is decidedly of opinion, that to give the *High German* V the sound of the *Low German* V, is contrary to the analogy of the language: and hence he lays it down as a rule, that the *proper* sound of V in the High German language is the same with that of F. There is indeed one exception, namely, when it occurs in the middle of a word *between two vowels*. It then unavoidably assumes a softer tone; and on the same principle, as that which converted the *Latin* F into the *Latin* V, when it represented the Digamma between two vowels.

Wind, as if it were written *Vind*; and *Vater* (which is the German for *Father*) they pronounce as if it were written *Fater*: the word *Volk*; which corresponds to the English *Folk*, they pronounce as if it were written *Folk*. This pronunciation of V like F in *German* words was transferred to the pronunciation of *Latin* words. That it was so in the time of Gerard Vossius, appears from what he says, c. 26. Germani pronunciant Latinorum *Vinum* quasi esset *Finum*. This pronunciation therefore it was his object to correct. He accordingly tells his countrymen, that they ought not to pronounce the *Latin* V like *their* V, but like *their* W. He instances in c. 26. two German words corresponding with the Latin, which according to the orthography of the sixteenth century he writes *Wijn* and *Wint* (now written *Wein* and *Wind*): and he adds, nec aliter extulere Latini *vinum*, *ventus*, quam *winum*, *wentus*. Again, he says in c. 24. of the manner in which the *Latins* pronounced V, in contradistinction of the manner in which the *Germans* pronounced it; Olim vero longe etiam majus discrimen erat; quia V efferebant, ut *Germani* duplex W. Nempe pronunciant *Winum*, *Wallum*, *Widua*, *Wacillare*, &c. unde nostrum *Wijn*, *Walle*, *Weduwe*, *Waggeln*, &c. Since then the *Germans* pronounce W, as we pronounce V, the rule thus given by Vossius, when

applied to the *English* language would be, that the *Latin V* was pronounced like the *English V*. But English critics, not knowing the difference between their *own W*, and the *German W*, and not considering that Gerard Vossius, as a German, was giving rules for the Germans, have argued from this passage, as if Gerard Vossius was authority for the opinion, that the Latins pronounced *Vinum*, *Vallum*, *Vidua*, in the same manner as the *English* pronounce *Wine*, *Wall*, *Widow*. I have even seen the passage quoted with English examples *substituted* for the German, with the exception of the German word for *vacillare*, because we do not say *Wacillate*, but *Vacillate*. And as the word *nostrum* immediately precedes those examples, the quotation, with these substitutions, makes Gerard Vossius speak, as if he had been a native Englishman.

The preceding remarks on the pronunciation of the Latin *V* have not been made on the supposition, that the sound of the Greek *F* depended on the sound of the Latin *V*, but merely because the two questions have been connected by most writers upon this subject. In whatever manner Cicero may have pronounced the Latin *V*, the Pelasgi, who brought letters into Latium, had no other

sound for their F, than such as was given to F by the Latins, who learnt from them, and is still given to it by those, who in their turn have learnt from the Latins.

END OF PART I.

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